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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOL. VII.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

VOL. VII.

A NEW EDITION, Corrected.

LONDON:
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MDCCLXXIII.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SEVENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LVII.

Invasion of the Scots——Battle of Marston-moor——Battle of Cropredy bridge.——Essex's forces disarmed——Second battle of Newbury——Rise and character of the independents——Self-denying ordinance——Fairfax, Cromwel——Treaty of Uxbridge——Execution of Laud. Page 1

CHAP. LVIII.

Montrose's victories——The new model of the army——Battle of Naseby——Surrender of Bristol——The west conquered by Fairfax——Defeat of Montrose——Ecclesiastical affairs——King goes to the Scots at Newark——End of the war——King delivered up by the Scots. 43

CHAP.

G260
10240 o.n.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. LIX.

Mutiny of the army——The king seized by Joyce——The army march against the parliament——The army subdue the parliament——The king flies to the isle of Wight——Second civil war——Invasion from Scotland——The treaty of Newport——The civil war and invasion repressed——The king seized again by the army——The house purged——The king's trial——And execution——And character. Page 82

THE COMMONWEALTH.

CHAP. LX.

State of England——Of Scotland——Of Ireland——Levellers suppressed——Siege of Dublin raised——Tredah stormed——Covenanters——Montrose taken prisoner——Executed——Covenanters——Battle of Dunbar——Of Worcester——King's escape——The commonwealth——Dutch war——Dissolution of the parliament. 155

CHAP. LXI.

Cromwel's birth and private life——Barebone's parliament——Cromwel made protector——Peace with Holland——A new parliament——Insurrection of the royalists——State of Europe——War with Spain——Jamaica conquered——Success and death of admiral Blake——Domestic administration of Cromwel——Humble petition and advice——Dunkirk taken——Sickness of the protector.——His death——And character. 221

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. LXII.

Richard acknowledged protector——A parliament——Cabal of Wallingford-house——Richard deposed——Long parliament or rump restored——Conspiracy of the royalists——Insurrection——Suppressed——Parliament expelled——Committee of safety——Foreign affairs——General Monk——Monk declares for the parliament——Parliament restored——Monk enters London, declares for a free parliament——Secluded members restored——Long parliament dissolved——New parliament——The restoration——Manners and Arts. P. 292

CHARLES II.

CHAP. LXIII.

New ministry——Act of indemnity——Settlement of the revenue——Trial and execution of the regicides——Dissolution of the convention——Parliament——Prelacy restored——Insurrection of the millenarians——Affairs of Scotland——Conference at the Savoy——Arguments for and against a comprehension——A new parliament——Bishops seats restored——Corporation act——Act of uniformity——King's marriage——Trial of Vane——And execution——Presbyterian clergy ejected——Dunkirk sold to the French——Declaration of indulgence——Decline of Clarendon's credit. 349

CHAP. LXIV.

A new session——Rupture with Holland——A new session——Victory of the English——Rupture with France——Rupture with Denmark——New session——Sea-fight of four days——Victory of the English.——Fire of London——Advances towards peace——Disgrace at Chatham——Peace of Breda——Clarendon's fall——and banishment——State of France——Character of Lewis XIV. *——French invasion of the Low Countries——Negotiations——Triple league——Treaty of Aix-la chapelle——Affairs of Scotland——and of Ireland.* Page 395

CHAP. LXV.

A parliament——The cabal——Their characters——Their councils——Alliance with France——A parliament——Coventry act——Blood's crimes——Duke declares himself catholic——Exchequer shut——Declaration of indulgence——Attack of the Smyrna fleet——War declared with Holland——Weakness of the States——Battle of Solebay——Sandwich killed——Progress of the French——Consternation of the Dutch——Prince of Orange Stadtholder——Massacre of the de Wits——Good conduct of the prince——A parliament——Declaration of indulgence recalled——Sea-fight——Another sea fight——Another sea-fight——Congress of Cologne——A parliament——Peace with Holland. 450

THE

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAP. LVII.

Invaſion of the Scots——Battle of Marſton-moor——Battle of Cropredy-bridge——Eſſex's forces diſarmed——Second battle of Newbury——Riſe and character of the independents——Self-denying ordinance——Fairfax, Cromwel——Treaty of Uxbridge——Execution of Laud.

THE king had hitherto, during the courſe of the war, obtained many advantages over the parliament, and had raiſed himſelf from that low condition, into which he had at firſt fallen, to be nearly upon an equal footing with his adverſaries. Yorkſhire, and all the northern counties, were reduced by the marqueſs of Newcaſtle; and, excepting Hull, the parliament was maſter of no garriſon in theſe quarters. In the weſt, Plymouth alone, having been in vain beſieged by prince Maurice, reſiſted the king's authority: And had it not been

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

been for the disappointment in the enterprize of Gloucester, the royal garrisons had reached, without interruption, from one end of the kingdom to the other; and had occupied a greater extent of ground, than those of the parliament. Many of the royalists flattered themselves, that the same vigorous spirit, which had elevated them to the present height of power, would still favour their progress, and obtain them a final victory over their enemies: But those who judged more soundly, observed, that, besides the accession of the whole Scottish nation to the side of the parliament; the very principle, on which the royal successes had been founded, was every day acquired, more and more, by the opposite party. The king's troops, full of gentry and nobility, had exerted a valour superior to their enemies, and had hitherto been successful in almost every rencounter: But in proportion as the whole nation became warlike, by the continuance of civil discords, this advantage was more equally shared; and superior numbers, it was expected, must at last obtain the victory. The king's troops also, ill paid, and destitute of every necessary, could not possibly be retained in equal discipline with the parliamentary forces, to whom all supplies were furnished from unexhausted stores and treasures [a]. The severity of manners, so much affected by these zealous religionists, assisted their military institutions; and the rigid inflexibility of character, by which the austere reformers of church and state were distinguished, enabled the parliamentary chiefs to restrain their soldiers within stricter rules and more exact order. And while the king's officers indulged themselves even in greater licences, than those to which, during times of peace, they had been accustomed, they were apt, both to neglect their military duty, and to set a pernicious example of disorder, to the soldiers under their command.

[a] Rush. vol. vi. p. 560.

At

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

AT the commencement of the civil war, all Engliſhmen, who ſerved abroad, were invited over, and treated with extraordinary reſpect: And moſt of them, being deſcended of good families, and by reaſon of their abſence, unacquainted with the new principles, which depreſſed the dignity of the crown, had inliſted under the royal ſtandard. But it is obſervable, that, though the military profeſſion requires great genius, and long experience, in the principal commanders, all its ſubordinate duties may be diſcharged by ordinary talents, and from ſuperficial practice. Citizens and country-gentlemen ſoon became excellent officers; and the generals of greateſt fame and capacity happened, all of them, to ſpring up on the ſide of the parliament. The courtiers and great nobility, in the other party, checked the growth of any extraordinary genius among the ſubordinate officers; and every man there, as in a regular eſtabliſhed government, was confined to the ſtation, in which his birth had placed him.

THE king, that he might make preparations, during winter, for the enſuing campaign, ſummoned to Oxford all the members of either houſe, who adhered to his intereſts; and endeavoured to avail himſelf of the name of parliament, ſo paſſionately cheriſhed by the Engliſh nation [b]. The houſe of peers was pretty full; and beſides the nobility, employed in different parts of the kingdom, it contained twice as many members as voted at Weſtminſter. The houſe of commons conſiſted of about 140; which amounted not to above half of the other houſe of commons [c].

So extremely light had government hitherto lain upon the people, that the very name of *exciſe* was unknown to them; and among the other evils ariſing from theſe

[b] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 559. [c] Idem, p. 576, 574, 575.

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

domeſtic wars, was the introduction of that impoſt into England. The parliament at Weſtminſter having voted an exciſe on beer, wine, and other commodities; thoſe at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. And in order to enable him the better to recruit his army, they granted him the ſum of 100,000 pounds, to be levied by way of loan upon the ſubject. The king circulated privy ſeals, counterſigned by the ſpeakers of both houſes, requiring the loan of particular ſums, from ſuch perſons as lived within his quarters [d]. Neither party had as yet got above the pedantry of reproaching their antagoniſts with theſe illegal meaſures.

THE Weſtminſter parliament paſſed a whimſical ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and the neighbourhood, to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the ſupport of the public cauſe [e]. It is eaſily imagined, that, provided the money was paid, they troubled themſelves very little about the execution of their ordinance.

SUCH was the king's ſituation, that, in order to reſtore peace to the nation, he had no occaſion to demand any other terms, than the reſtoring of the laws and conſtitution; the replacing him in the ſame rights which had ever been enjoyed by his predeceſſors; and the re-eſtabliſhing, on its ancient baſis, the whole frame of government, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical. And that he might facilitate an end, ſeemingly ſo deſirable, he offered to employ means equally popular, an univerſal act of oblivion, and a toleration or indulgence to tender conſciences. Nothing therefore could contribute more to his intereſts, than every diſcourſe of peace, and every diſcuſſion of the conditions, upon which that bleſſing could be obtained. For this reaſon, he ſolicited a treaty, on all occaſions, and deſired a conference and mutual exami-

[d] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 590. [e] Dugdale, p. 119. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 748.

nation

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

nation of pretenſions, even when he entertained no hopes, that any concluſion could poſſibly reſult from it.

For like reaſons, the parliament wiſely avoided, as much as they could, all advances towards negociation, and were cautious not to expoſe too eaſily to cenſure thoſe high terms, which their apprehenſions or their ambition made them previouſly demand of the king. Though their partizans were blinded with the thickeſt veil of religious prejudices, they dreaded to bring their pretenſions to the teſt, or lay them open before the whole nation. In oppoſition to the ſacred authority of the laws, to the venerable precedents of many ages, the popular leaders were aſhamed to plead nothing but fears and jealouſies, which were not avowed by the conſtitution, and for which, neither the perſonal character of Charles, ſo full of virtue, nor his ſituation, ſo deprived of all independent authority, ſeemed to afford any reaſonable foundation. Grievances which had been fully redreſſed; powers, either legal or illegal, which had been entirely renounced; it ſeemed unpopular, and invidious, and ungrateful, any farther to inſiſt on.

The king, that he might abate the univerſal veneration, paid to the name of parliament, had iſſued a declaration, in which he ſet forth all the tumults, by which himſelf and his partizans in both houſes had been driven from London; and he thence inferred, that the aſſembly at Weſtminſter was no longer a free parliament, and, till its liberty was reſtored, was intitled to no authority. As this declaration was an obſtacle to all treaty, ſome contrivance ſeemed requiſite, in order to elude it.

A letter was written, in the foregoing year, to the earl of Eſſex, and ſubſcribed by the prince, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen [f]. They there exhort

[f] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 442. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 566. Whitlocke, p. 77.

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

him to be an inſtrument for reſtoring peace, and to promote that happy end with thoſe, by whom he was employed. Eſſex, though much diſguſted with the parliament, though apprehenſive of the extremities to which they were driving, though deſirous of any reaſonable accommodation; yet was ſtill more reſolute to preſerve an honourable fidelity to the truſt repoſed in him. He replied, that, as the paper ſent him neither contained any addreſs to the two houſes of parliament, nor any acknowledgement of their authority, he could not communicate it to them. Like propoſals had been reiterated by the king, during the enſuing campaign, and met ſtill with a like anſwer from Eſſex [g].

In order to make a new trial for a treaty, the king, this ſpring, ſent another letter directed to the lords and commons of parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter: But as he alſo mentioned, in the letter, the lords and commons of parliament aſſembled at Oxford, and declared, that his ſcope and intention was to make proviſion, that all the members of both houſes might ſecurely meet in a full and free convention; the parliament, perceiving the concluſion implied, refuſed all treaty upon ſuch terms [h]. And the king, who knew what ſmall hopes there were of accommodation, would not abandon the pretenſions, which he had aſſumed; nor acknowledge the two houſes, more openly, for a free parliament.

This winter the famous Pym died; a man as much hated by one party, as reſpected by the other. At London, he was conſidered as the victim to national liberty, who had abridged his life by inceſſant labours for the intereſts of his country [i]: At Oxford, he was believed to have been ſtruck with an uncommon diſeaſe, and to

[g] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 444. Ruſh. vol. v. p. 569, 570. Whitlocke, p. 94.

[h] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 469. Whitlocke, p. 79.

[i] Ibid. p. 66.

have

have been consumed with vermine; as a mark of divine vengeance, for his multiplied crimes and treasons. He had been so little studious of improving his private fortune in those civil wars, of which he had been one principal author, that the parliament thought themselves obliged, out of gratitude, to pay the debts which he had contracted [k]. We now return to the military operations, which, during the winter, were carried on with vigor in several places, notwithstanding the severity of the season. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

THE forces, brought from Ireland, were landed at Mostyne in North-Wales; and being put under the command of lord Biron, they besieged and took the castles of Hawarden, Beeston, Acton, and Deddington-house [l]. No place in Cheshire or the neighbourhood now adhered to the parliament, except Nantwich: And to this town Biron laid siege during the depth of winter. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at so considerable a progress of the royalists, assembled an army of 4000 men in Yorkshire; and having joined Sir William Brereton, was approaching to the camp of the enemy. Biron and his soldiers, elated with successes obtained in Ireland, had entertained the most profound contempt for the parliamentary forces; a disposition, which, if confined to the army, may be regarded as a good presage of victory; but if it extend to the general, is the most probable forerunner of a defeat. Fairfax suddenly attacked the camp of the royalists. The swelling of the river by a thaw divided one part of the army from the other. That part, exposed to Fairfax, being beat from their post, retired into the church of Acton, and were all taken prisoners: The other retreated with precipitation [m]. And thus was dissipated or rendered useless that body of forces, which had been 25th Jan.

k Journ. 13th of February 1643.
l Rush. vol. vi. p. 299.
m Ibid. p. 301.

CHAP. LVII.

drawn from Ireland; and the parliamentary party revived in those north-west counties of England.

1644. Invasion from Scotland.

THE invasion from Scotland was attended with consequences of much greater importance. The Scots, having summoned in vain the town of Newcastle, which was fortified by the vigilance of Sir Thomas Glenham,

22d Feb.

passed the Tyne; and faced the marquess of Newcastle, who lay at Durham with an army of 14000 men [n]. After some military operations, in which that nobleman reduced the enemy to difficulties for forage and provisions, he received intelligence of a great disaster, which had befallen his forces in Yorkshire. Colonel Bellasis, whom he had left with a considerable body of troops, was totally

11th April.

routed at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned from Cheshire, with his victorious forces [o]. Afraid of being inclosed between two armies, Newcastle retreated; and Leven having joined Lord Fairfax, they sat down before York, to which the army of the royalists had retired. But as the parliamentary and Scottish forces were not numerous enough to invest so large a town, divided by a river, they contented themselves with incommoding it by a loose blockade; and affairs remained, for some time, in suspense between these opposite armies [p].

DURING this winter and spring, other parts of the kingdom had also been infested with war. Hopton, having assembled an army of 14000 men, endeavoured to break into Sussex, Kent, and the southern association, which seemed well disposed to receive him. Waller fell upon him at Cherington, and gave him a defeat [q] of considerable importance. In another quarter, siege being

[n] Rush. vol. vi. p. 615. [o] Idem, ibid. p. 618. [p] Idem, ibid. p. 620. [q] 29th of March.

laid

laid to Newark by the parliamentary forces, prince Rupert prepared himſelf for relieving a town of ſuch conſequence, which alone preſerved the communication open between the king's ſouthern and northern quarters [r]. With a ſmall force, but that animated by his active courage, he broke through the enemy, relieved the town, and totally diſſipated that army of the parliament [s]. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

BUT though fortune ſeemed to have divided her favours between the parties, the king found himſelf, in the main, a conſiderable loſer by this winter-campaign; and he prognoſticated a ſtill worſe event from the enſuing ſummer. The preparations of the parliament were great, and much exceeded the ſlender reſources, of which he was poſſeſſed. In the eaſtern aſſociation, they levied fourteen thouſand men, under the earl of Mancheſter, ſeconded by Cromwell [t]. An army of ten thouſand men under Eſſex; another of nearly the ſame force under Waller, were aſſembled in the neighbourhood of London. The former was deſtined to oppoſe the king: The latter was appointed to march into the weſt, where prince Maurice, with a ſmall army which went continually to decay, was ſpending his time in vain before Lyme, an inconſiderable town upon the ſea-coaſt. The utmoſt efforts of the king could not raiſe above ten thouſand men at Oxford; and on their ſword chiefly, during the campaign, were theſe to depend for ſubſiſtance.

THE queen, terrified with the dangers, which every way environed her, and afraid of being encloſed in Oxford, in the middle of the kingdom, fled to Exeter, where ſhe hoped to be delivered unmoleſted of the child, with which ſhe was now pregnant, and from whence ſhe had the means of an eaſy eſcape into France, if preſſed by the forces of the enemy. She knew the implacable

[r] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 306. [s] 21ſt of March. [t] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 621.

hatred,

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

hatred, which the parliament, on account of her religion and her credit with the king, had all along borne her. Laſt ſummer, the commons had ſent up to the peers an impeachment of high treaſon againſt her; becauſe, in his utmoſt diſtreſſes, ſhe had aſſiſted her huſband with arms and ammunition, which ſhe had bought in Holland [u]. And had ſhe fallen into their hands, neither her ſex, ſhe knew, nor high ſtation, could protect her againſt inſults at leaſt, if not danger, from thoſe haughty republicans, who ſo little affected to conduct themſelves by the maxims of gallantry and politeneſs.

FROM the beginning of theſe diſſenſions, the parliament, it is remarkable, had, in all things, aſſumed an extreme aſcendant over their ſovereign, and had diſplayed a violence and arrogated an authority, which, on his ſide, would not have been compatible, either with his temper or his ſituation. While he ſpoke perpetually of pardoning all *rebels*; they talked of nothing but the puniſhment of *delinquents* and *malignants*: While he offered a toleration and an indulgence to tender conſciences; they threatened the utter extirpation of prelacy: To his profeſſions of lenity, they oppoſed declarations of rigor: And the more the ancient tenor of the laws inculcated a reſpectful ſubordination to the crown, the more careful were they, by their lofty pretenſions, to cover that defect, under which they laboured.

THEIR great advantages in the north ſeemed to ſecond their ambition, and finally to promiſe them ſucceſs in their unwarrantable enterprizes. Manchester, having taken Lincoln, had united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now cloſely beſieged by their combined forces. That town, though vigorouſly defended by Newcaſtle, was reduced to extremity; and

[u] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 321.

the

the parliamentary generals, after enduring great losses and fatigues, flattered themselves, that all their labours would at last be crowned by this important conquest. On a sudden, they were alarmed with the approach of Rupert. This gallant prince, having vigorously exerted himself in Lancashire and Cheshire, had collected a considerable army; and joining Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcastle's horse, hastened to the relief of York with an army of 20,000 men. The Scottish and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and drawing up on Marston-moor, proposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert approached the town by another quarter, and interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle. The marquess endeavoured to persuade him, that, having so successfully effected his purpose, he ought to be content with the present advantages, and leave the enemy, now much diminished by their losses, and discouraged by their ill success, to dissolve by those mutual dissensions, which had begun to take place among them [w]. The prince, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, nor softened by complaisance, pretending positive orders from the king, without deigning to consult with Newcastle, whose merits and services deserved better treatment, immediately issued orders for battle, and led out the army to Marston-moor [x]. This action was obstinately disputed between the most numerous armies, that were engaged during the course of these wars; nor were the forces on each side much different in their number. Fifty thousand British troops were led to mutual slaughter; and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Prince Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed to Cromwell [y],

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

2d July.

Battle of Marston-moor.

[w] Life of the D. of Newcastle, p. 40. [x] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 506. [y] Rush. part 3. vol. ii. p. 633.

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the moſt rigid diſcipline. After a ſharp combat, the cavalry of the royaliſts gave way; and ſuch of the infantry, as ſtood next them, were likewiſe borne down, and put to flight. Newcaſtle's regiment alone, reſolute to conquer or to periſh, obſtinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the ſame order, in which they had at firſt been ranged. In the other wing, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Lambert, with ſome troops, broke through the royaliſts; and, tranſported by the ardour of purſuit, ſoon reached their victorious friends, engaged alſo in purſuit of the enemy. But after that tempeſt was paſt, Lucas, who commanded the royaliſts in this wing, reſtoring order to his broken forces, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into diſorder, puſhed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to rout. When ready to ſeize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwel, who was now returned from purſuit of the other wing. Both ſides were not a little ſurpriſed to find, that they muſt again renew the combat for that victory, which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged; and each army occupied the ground, which had been poſſeſſed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This ſecond battle was equally furious and deſperate with the firſt: But after the utmoſt efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned to the ſide of the parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken; and his whole army puſhed off the field of battle [z].

THIS event was in itſelf a mighty blow to the king; but proved more fatal in its conſequences. The marqueſs

[z] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 632. Whitlocke, p. 89.

of

of Newcaſtle was entirely loſt to the royal cauſe. That nobleman, the ornament of the court and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his diſpoſition, into theſe military operations, merely by a high ſenſe of honour and a perſonal regard to his maſter. The dangers of war were diſregarded by his valour; but its fatigues were oppreſſive to his natural indolence. Munificent and generous in his expence; polite and elegant in his taſte; courteous and humane in his behaviour; he brought a great acceſſion of friends and of credit to the party, which he embraced. But amidſt all the hurry of action, his inclinations were ſecretly drawn to the ſoft arts of peace, in which he took delight; and the charms of poetry, muſic, and converſation ſtole him often from his rougher occupations. He choſe Sir William Davenant, an ingenious poet, for his lieutenant-general: The other perſons, in whom he placed confidence, were more the inſtruments of his refined pleaſures, than qualified for the buſineſs which they undertook: And the ſeverity and application, requiſite to the ſupport of diſcipline, were qualities, in which he was entirely wanting [a].

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

When prince Rupert, contrary to his advice, reſolved on this battle, and iſſued all orders without communicating his intentions to him; he took the field, but, he ſaid, entirely as a volunteer; and, except by his perſonal courage, which ſhone out with luſtre, he had no ſhare in the action. Enraged to find, that all his ſucceſsful labours were rendered abortive by one act of fatal temerity, terrified with the proſpect of renewing his pains and fatigue, he reſolved no longer to maintain the few reſources which remained to a deſperate cauſe, and thought, that the ſame regard to honour, which had at firſt called him to arms, now required him to abandon a

a Clarendon, vol. v. p. 507, 508. See Warwick.

party,

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

party, where he met with ſuch unworthy treatment. Next morning early, he ſent word to the prince, that he was inſtantly to leave the kingdom; and without delay, he went to Scarborough, where he found a veſſel, which carried him beyond ſea. During the enſuing years, till the reſtoration, he lived abroad in great neceſſity, and ſaw with indifference his opulent fortune ſequeſtered by thoſe who aſſumed the government of England. He diſdained, by ſubmiſſion or compoſition, to ſhow obeiſance to their uſurped authority; and the leaſt favourable cenſors of his merit allowed, that the fidelity and ſervices of a whole life had ſufficiently atoned for one raſh action, into which his paſſion had betrayed him [b].

PRINCE Rupert, with equal precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired into Lancaſhire. Glenham, in a few days, was obliged to ſurrender York; and he marched out his garriſon with all the honours of war [c]. Lord Fairfax, remaining in the town, eſtabliſhed his government in that whole county, and ſent a thouſand horſe into Lancaſhire, to join with the parliamentary forces in that quarter, and attend the motions of prince Rupert: The Scottiſh army marched northwards, in order to join the earl of Calender, who was advancing with ten thouſand additional forces [d]; and to reduce the town of Newcaſtle, which they took by ſtorm: The earl of Mancheſter, with Cromwel, to whom the fame of this great victory was chiefly aſcribed, and who was wounded in the action, returned to the eaſtern aſſociation, in order to recruit his army [e].

16th July.

WHILE theſe events paſſed in the north, the king's affairs in the ſouth were conducted with more ſucceſs and more ability. Ruthven, a Scotchman, who had been

[b] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 511.
[c] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 638.
[d] Whitlocke, p. 88.
[e] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 641.

created

created earl of Brentford, acted, under the king, as general. CHAP. LVII.

1644.

THE parliament ſoon compleated their two armies commanded by Eſſex and Waller. The great zeal of the city facilitated this undertaking. Many ſpeeches were made to the citizens, by the parliamentary leaders, in order to excite their ardour. Hollis, in particular, exhorted them not to ſpare, on this important occaſion, either their purſes, their perſons, or their prayers [f]; and they were ſufficiently liberal, it muſt be confeſſed, in all theſe contributions. The two generals had orders to march with their combined armies towards Oxford; and, if the king retired into that city, to lay ſiege to it, and by one enterprize put a period to the war. The king, leaving a numerous garriſon in Oxford, paſſed with dexterity between the two armies, which had taken Abingdon and had encloſed him on both ſides [g]. He marched towards Worceſter; and Waller received orders from Eſſex to follow him and watch his motions; while he himſelf marched into the weſt, in queſt of prince Maurice. Waller had approached within two miles of the royal camp, and was only ſeparated from it by the Severn, when he received intelligence, that the king was advanced to Beudly, and had directed his courſe towards Shrewſbury. In order to prevent him, Waller preſently diſlodged, and haſtened by quick marches to that city: When the king, ſuddenly returning upon his own footſteps, reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garriſon, now in his turn marched out in queſt of Waller. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-bridge near Banbury; but the Charwell ran between them. Next day, the king decamped and marched towards Daventry. Waller ordered a conſiderable détachment to paſs the bridge, with an intention of falling on

Battle of Cropredy-bridge.

f Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 662. g 3d of June.

the

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

the rear of the royalists. He was repulsed, routed, and pursued with considerable loss [h]. Stunned and disheartened with this blow, his army decayed and melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march westward against Essex. That general, having obliged prince Maurice to raise the siege of Lyme, having taken Weymouth and Taunton, advanced still in his conquests, and met with no equal opposition. The king followed him, and having re-inforced his army from all quarters, appeared in the field with an army superior to the enemy. Essex, retreating into Cornwall, informed the parliament of his danger, and desired them to send an army, which might fall on the king's rear. General Middleton received a commission to execute that service; but came too late. Essex's army, cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of succour, was reduced to the last extremity. The king pressed them on one side; prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex, Robarts, and some of the principal officers, escaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour with his horse passed the king's out-posts, in a thick mist, and got safely to the garrisons of his own party. The foot under Skippon were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage and ammunition; and being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were dismissed. By this advantage, which was much boasted of, the king, besides the honour of the enterprize, obtained what he stood extremely in need of: The parliament, having preserved the men, lost what they could easily repair [i].

1st Sept.

Essex's forces disarmed.

No sooner did this intelligence reach London, than the committee of the two kingdoms voted thanks to Essex for his fidelity, courage and conduct; and this method

[h] Rush. vol. vi. p. 676. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 497. Sir Ed. Walker, p. 31. [i] Rush. vol. vi. p. 699, &c. Whitlocke, p. 98. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 524, 525. Sir Edw. Walker, p. 69, 70, &c.

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

of proceeding, no less politic than magnanimous, the parliament preserved throughout the whole course of the war. Equally indulgent to their friends and rigorous to their enemies, they employed, with success, these two powerful engines of reward and punishment, in confirmation of their authority.

THAT the king might have less reason to exult in the advantages, which he had obtained in the west, the parliament opposed to him very numerous forces. Having armed anew Essex's subdued, but not disheartened troops, they ordered Manchester and Cromwel to march with their recruited forces from the eastern association; and joining their armies to those of Waller and Middleton, as well as of Essex, offer battle to the king. Charles chose his post at Newbury, where they attacked him with great vigour; and that town was a second time the scene of the bloody animosities of the English. Essex's soldiers, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge the disgrace of Lestithiel, made an impetuous assault on the royalists; and having recovered some of their cannon, lost in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. Though the king's troops defended themselves with valour, they were overpowered by numbers; and the night came very seasonably to their relief, and prevented a total overthrow. Charles, leaving his baggage and cannon in Dennington-castle, near Newbury, forthwith retreated to Wallingford, and thence to Oxford. There, prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton joined him, with considerable bodies of cavalry. Strengthened by this reinforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed before Dennington-castle [k]. Essex, detained by sickness, had not joined the army, since his misfortune in Cornwall. Manchester, who commanded, though his

Second battle of Newbury.

27th Oct.

[k] Rush. vol. vi. p. 721, &c.

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

forces were much superior to those of the king, declined an engagement, and rejected Cromwel's advice, who earnestly pressed him not to neglect so favourable an

9th Nov. opportunity of finishing the war. The king's army, by bringing off their cannon from Dennington-castle, in the face of the enemy, seemed sufficiently to have repaired the honour which they had lost at Newbury; and Charles, having the satisfaction to excite, between Manchester and Cromwel, equal animosities with those which formerly took place between Essex and Waller [1], distributed his army into winter-quarters.

23d Nov.

THOSE contests among the parliamentary generals, which had disturbed their military operations, were renewed in London during the winter-season; and each being supported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city and parliament. There had long prevailed, in that party, a secret distinction, which, though the dread of the king's power had hitherto suppressed it, yet, in proportion as the hopes of success became nearer and more immediate, began to discover itself, with high contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had, at first, taken shelter and concealed themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now evidently appeared a distinct party, and betrayed very different views and pretensions. We must here endeavour to explain the genius of this party, and of its leaders, who henceforth occupy the scene of action.

Rise and character of the independents.

DURING those times, when the enthusiastic spirit met with such honour and encouragement, and was the immediate means of distinction and preferment; it was impossible to set bounds to these holy fervors, or confine, within any natural limits, what was directed towards an infinite and a supernatural object. Every man, as

[1] Rush. vol. vii. p. 1.

prompted

prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation, or supported by his habits of hypocrisy, endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a higher pitch of saintship and perfection. In proportion to its degree of fanaticism, each sect became dangerous and destructive; and as the independents went a note higher than the presbyterians, they could less be restrained within any bounds of temper and moderation. From this distinction, as from a first principle, were derived, by a necessary consequence, all the other differences of these two sects. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

The independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed, within itself, a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one devoid of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members. The election alone of the congregation was sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character; and as all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no vocation, no imposition of hands, was, as in all other churches, supposed requisite to convey a right to holy orders. The enthusiasm of the presbyterians led them to reject the authority of prelates, to throw off the restraint of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of the priestly office: The fanaticism of the independents, exalted to a higher pitch, abolished ecclesiastical government, disdained creeds and systems, neglected every ceremony, and confounded all ranks and orders. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervors of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the spirit, resigned

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

himself to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated, in a manner, by an immediate intercourse and communication with heaven.

THE catholics, pretending to an infallible guide, had justified, upon that principle, their doctrine and practice of persecution: The presbyterians, imagining that such clear and certain tenets, as they themselves adopted, could be rejected only from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had hitherto gratified, to the full, their bigotted zeal, in a like doctrine and practice: The independents, from the extremity of the same zeal, were led into the milder principles of toleration. Their mind, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits; and the same variations, in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. Of all christian sects, this was the first, which, during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration; and, it is remarkable, that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism.

POPERY and prelacy alone, whose genius seemed to tend towards superstition, were treated by the independents with rigour. The doctrines too of fate or destiny, were deemed by them essential to all religion. In these rigid opinions, the whole sectaries, amidst all their other differences, unanimously concurred.

THE political system of the independents kept pace with their religious. Not content with confining, to very narrow limits, the power of the crown, and reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate, which was the project of the presbyterians; this sect, more ardent in the pursuit of liberty, aspired to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the aristocracy; and projected an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic, quite free

free and independent. In consequence of this scheme, they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace, except on such terms as, they knew, it was impossible to obtain; and they adhered to that maxim, which is, in the main, prudent and political, that whoever draws the sword against his sovereign, should throw away the scabbard. By terrifying others with the fear of vengeance from the offended prince, they had engaged greater numbers into the opposition against peace, than had adopted their other principles with regard to government and religion. And the great success, which had already attended the arms of the parliament, and the greater, which was soon expected, confirmed them still further in this obstinacy. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

Sir Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwel, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor-general, were regarded as the leaders of the independents. The earl of Essex, disgusted with a war, of which he began to foresee the pernicious consequences, adhered to the presbyterians, and promoted every reasonable plan of accommodation. The earl of Northumberland, fond of his rank and dignity, regarded with horror a scheme, which, if it took place, would confound himself and his family with the lowest in the kingdom. The earls of Warwic, and Denbigh, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Hollis, Massey, Whitlocke, Mainard, Glyn, had embraced the same sentiments. In the parliament, a considerable majority, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the presbyterian party; and it was only by cunning and deceit at first, and afterwards by violence, that the independents could entertain any hopes of success.

The earl of Manchester, provoked at the impeachment, which the king had lodged against him, had long forwarded the war with alacrity; but, being a man of

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

humanity and good principles, the view of public calamities, and the prospect of a total subversion of government, began to moderate his ardor, and inclined him to promote peace on any safe or honourable terms. He was even suspected, in the field, not to have pushed to the utmost against the king the advantages, obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwel, in the public debates, revived the accusation, that this nobleman had wilfully neglected at Dennington-castle a favourable opportunity of finishing the war by a total defeat of the royalists. "I showed him evidently," said Cromwel, "how "this success might be obtained; and only desired leave, "with my own brigade of horse, to charge the king's "army in their retreat; leaving it in the earl's choice, "if he thought proper, to remain neuter with the rest "of his forces: But, notwithstanding my importunity, "he positively and absolutely refused his consent; and "gave no other reason but that, if we met with a defeat, "there was an end of our pretensions: We should all be "rebels and traitors, and be executed and forfeited by "law [m]?"

MANCHESTER, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament, that, at another time, Cromwel having proposed some scheme, to which, it seemed improbable, the parliament would agree, he insisted and said, *My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army, which shall give law both to king and parliament.* "This discourse," continued Manchester, "made the greater impression on me, because I knew "the lieutenant-general to be a man of very deep de"signs; and he has even ventured to tell me, that it "never would be well with England till I was Mr. "Montague, and there was ne'er a lord or peer in the "kingdom [n]." So full was Cromwel of these republican

[m] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 561. [n] Idem ibid. p. 562.

projects,

projects, that, notwithstanding his habits of profound hypocrisy, he could not so carefully guard his expressions, but that sometimes his favourite notions would escape him. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

THESE violent dissentions brought matters to extremity, and pushed the independents to the execution of their designs. The present generals, they thought, were more desirous of protracting than finishing the war; and having entertained a scheme for preserving still some balance in the constitution, they were afraid of entirely subduing the king, and reducing him to a condition, where he should not be intitled to ask any concessions. A new model alone of the army could bring compleat victory to the parliament, and free the nation from those calamities, under which it laboured. But how to effect this project was the difficulty. The authority, as well as merits, of Essex was very great with the parliament. Not only he had served them all along with the most exact and scrupulous honour: It was, in some measure, owing to his popularity, that they had ever been enabled to levy an army or make head against the royal cause. Manchester, Warwic, and the other commanders had likewise great credit with the public; nor were there any hopes of prevailing over them, but by laying the plan of an oblique and artificial attack, which would conceal the real purpose of their antagonists. The Scots and Scotch commissioners, jealous of the progress of the independents, were a new obstacle; which, without the utmost art and subtlety, it would be difficult to surmount [o]. The methods, by which this intrigue was conducted, are so singular, and show so fully the genius of the age, that we shall give a detail of them, as they are delivered by lord Clarendon [p].

o Clarendon, vol. v. p. 562. p Idem ibid. p. 565.

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

A FAST, on the laſt Wedneſday of every month, had been ordered by the parliament at the beginning of theſe commotions; and their preachers, on that day, were careful to keep alive, by their vehement declamations, the popular prejudices entertained againſt the king, againſt prelacy, and againſt popery. The king, that he might combat the parliament with their own weapons, appointed likewiſe a monthly faſt, when the people ſhould be inſtructed in the duties of loyalty and of ſubmiſſion to the higher powers; and he choſe the ſecond Friday of every month for the devotion of the royaliſts [q]. It was now propoſed and carried in parliament, by the independents, that a new and more ſolemn faſt ſhould be voted; when they ſhould implore the divine aſſiſtance for extricating them from thoſe perplexities, in which they were at preſent involved. On that day, the preachers, after many political prayers, took care to treat of the reigning diviſions in the parliament, and aſcribed them entirely to the ſelfiſh ends, purſued by the members. In the hands of thoſe members, they ſaid, are lodged all the conſiderable commands of the army, all the lucrative offices in the civil adminiſtration: And while the nation is falling every day into poverty, and groans under an inſupportable load of taxes; theſe men multiply poſſeſſion on poſſeſſion, and will, in a little time, be maſters of all the wealth of the kingdom. That ſuch perſons, who fatten on the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual meaſure for bringing them to a period, or enſuring a final ſucceſs to the war, cannot reaſonably be expected. Lingering expedients alone will be purſued: And operations in the field concurring, in the ſame pernicious end, with deliberations in the cabinet; civil commotions will, for ever, be perpetuated

[q] Ruſhworth, vol. vi. p. 364.

in

in the nation. After exaggerating these disorders, the ministers returned to their prayers; and besought the Lord, that he would take his own work into his own hand; and if the instruments, whom he had hitherto employed, were not worthy to bring to a conclusion so glorious a design, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and by establishing true religion, put a speedy period to the public miseries. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

On the day subsequent to these devout animadversions, when the parliament met, a new spirit appeared in the looks of many. Sir Henry Vane told the commons, that, if ever God appeared to them, it was in the ordinances of yesterday: That, as he was credibly informed by many, who had been present in different congregations, the same lamentations and discourses, which the godly preachers had made before them, had been heard in other churches: That so remarkable a concurrence could proceed only from the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit: That he therefore intreated them, in vindication of their own honour, in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aside all private ends, and renounce every office, attended with profit or advantage: That the absence of so many members, occupied in different employments, had rendered the house extremely thin, and diminished the authority of their determinations: And that he could not forbear, for his own part, accusing himself as one who enjoyed a gainful office, that of treasurer of the navy; and though he was possessed of it before the civil commotions, and owed it not to the favour of the parliament, yet was he ready to resign it, and to sacrifice, to the welfare of his country, every consideration of private interest and advantage.

Cromwel next acted his part, and commended the preachers for having dealt with them plainly and impartially, and told them of their errors, of which they were so

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

so unwilling to be informed. Though they dwelt on many things, he said, on which he had never before reflected; yet, upon revolving them, he could not but confess, that, till there was a perfect reformation in these particulars, nothing which they undertook could possibly prosper. The parliament, no doubt, continued he, had done wisely on the commencement of the war, in engaging several of its members in the most dangerous parts of it; and thereby satisfying the nation, that they intended to share all hazards with the meanest of the people. But affairs are now changed. During the progress of military operations, there have arisen, in the parliamentary armies, many excellent officers, who are qualified for higher commands than they are now possessed of. And though it becomes not men, engaged in such a cause, *to put trust in the arm of flesh*, yet he could assure them, that their troops contained generals, fit to command in any enterprize in Christendom. The army indeed, he was sorry to say, did not correspond, by its discipline, to the merit of the officers; nor were there any hopes, till the present vices and disorders, which prevail among the soldiers, were repressed by a new model, that their forces would ever be attended with signal success in any undertaking.

In opposition to this reasoning of the independents, many of the presbyterians showed the inconvenience and danger of the projected alteration. Whitlocke, in particular, a man of honour, who loved his country, though, in every change of government, he always adhered to the ruling power, said, that besides the ingratitude of discarding, and that by fraud and artifice, so many noble persons, to whom the parliament had hitherto owed its chief support; they would find it extremely difficult to supply the place of men, now formed by experience to command and authority: That the rank alone, possessed by

by such as were members of either house, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders: That greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain separate views from those which were embraced by the persons, who employed them: That no maxim of policy was more undisputed, than the necessity of preserving an inseparable connexion between the civil and military powers, and of retaining the latter in strict subordination to the former: That the Greeks and Romans, the wisest and most passionate lovers of liberty, had ever entrusted to their senators the command of armies, and had maintained an unconquerable jealousy of all mercenary forces: And that such men alone, whose interests were involved in those of the public, and who possessed a vote in the civil deliberations, would sufficiently respect the authority of parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the sword against those, by whom it was committed to them [r].

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

NOTWITHSTANDING these reasonings, a committee was chosen to frame what was called the *Self-denying ordinance*, by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few offices which were specified. This ordinance was the subject of great debate, and, for a long time, rent the parliament and city into factions. But, at last, by the prevalence of envy with some; with others, of false modesty; with a great many, of the republican and independent views; it passed the house of commons, and was sent to the upper house. The peers, though the scheme was, in part, levelled against their order; though all of them were, at bottom, extremely averse to it; though they even ventured once to reject it; yet possessed so little authority, that they durst not persevere

Self-denying ordinance.

[r] Whitlocke, p. 114, 115. Rush. vol. vii. p. 6.

in

CHAP. LVII.

in oppoſing the reſolution of the commons; and they thought it better policy, by an unlimited compliance, to ward off that ruin, which they ſaw approaching [s]. The ordinance, therefore, having paſſed both houſes, Eſſex, Warwic, Mancheſter, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, reſigned their commands, and received the thanks of parliament for their good ſervices. A penſion of ten thouſand pounds a year was ſettled on Eſſex.

1644.

1645. It was agreed to recruit the army to 22,000 men; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general [t]. It is remarkable, that his commiſſion did not run, like that of Eſſex, in the name of the king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone: And the article concerning the ſafety of the king's perſon was omitted. So much had animoſities encreaſed between the parties [u]. Cromwel, being a member of the lower houſe, ſhould have been diſcarded with the others; but this impartiality would have diſappointed all the views of thoſe, who had introduced the ſelf-denying ordinance. He was ſaved by a ſubtilty, and by that political craft, in which he was ſo eminent. At the time, when the other officers reſigned their commiſſions, care was taken, that he ſhould be ſent with a body of horſe, to relieve Taunton, beſieged by the royaliſts. His abſence being remarked, orders were diſpatched for his immediate attendance in parliament; and the new general was directed to employ ſome other officer in that ſervice. A ready compliance was feigned; and the very day was named, on which, it was averred, he would take his place in the houſe. But Fairfax, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, wrote to the parliament, and deſired leave to retain, for ſome days, lieutenant-general Cromwel, whoſe advice, he ſaid,

[s] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 8, 15. [t] Whitlocke, p. 118. Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 7. [u] Whitlocke, p. 133.

would

would be useful, in supplying the place of those officers, who had resigned. Shortly after, he begged, with much earnestness, that they would allow Cromwel to serve that campaign [w]. And thus the independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the presbyterians, and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax; in reality, upon Cromwel. CHAP. LVII. 1645.

Fairfax. FAIRFAX was a person equally eminent for courage and for humanity; and though strongly infected with prejudices or principles, derived from religious and party zeal, he seems never, in the course of his public conduct, to have been seduced, by private interest or ambition, from adhering strictly to these principles. Sincere in his professions; disinterested in his views; open in his conduct; he had formed one of the most shining characters of that age; had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in every thing but in war, and his embarrassed and confused elocution, on every occasion but when he gave orders, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the part, which he acted, even when vested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate.

Cromwel. CROMWEL, by whose sagacity and insinuation Fairfax was entirely governed, is one of the most eminent and most singular personages, that occurs in history: The strokes of his character are as open and strongly marked, as the schemes of his conduct were, during the time, dark and impenetrable. His extensive capacity enabled him to form the most enlarged projects: His enterprizing genius was not dismayed with the boldest and most dangerous. Carried, by his natural temper, to magnanimity, to grandeur, and to an imperious and domineering policy; he yet knew, when necessary, to employ the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined

[w] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 629, 630. Whitlocke, p. 141.

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

artifice, the ſemblance of the greateſt moderation and ſimplicity. A friend to juſtice, though his public conduct was one continued violation of it; devoted to religion, though he perpetually employed it as the inſtrument of his ambition; he was engaged in crimes from the proſpect of ſovereign power, a temptation which is, in general, irreſiſtible to human nature. And by uſing well that authority, which he had attained by fraud and violence, he has leſſened, if not overpowered, our deteſtation of his enormities, by our admiration of his ſucceſs and of his genius.

Treaty of Uxbridge.

DURING this important tranſaction of the ſelf-denying ordinance, the negotiations for peace were likewiſe carried on, though with ſmall hopes of ſucceſs. The king having ſent two meſſages, one from Eveſham [x], another from Taviſtocke [y], deſiring a treaty, the parliament diſpatched commiſſioners to Oxford, with propoſals, as high as if they had obtained a compleat victory [z]. The advantages gained during the campaign, and the great diſtreſſes of the royaliſts, had much elevated their hopes; and they were reſolved to repoſe no truſt in men, enflamed with the higheſt animoſity againſt them, and who, were they poſſeſſed of power, were fully authorized by law to puniſh all their opponents as rebels and traitors.

THE king, when he conſidered the propoſals and the diſpoſition of the parliament, could not expect any accommodation, and had no proſpect but of war, or of total ſubmiſſion and ſubjection: Yet, in order to ſatisfy his own party, who were impatient for peace, he agreed to ſend the duke of Richmond and earl of Southampton, with an anſwer to the propoſals of the parliament, and at the ſame time to deſire a treaty upon their mutual demands and pretenſions [a]. It now became neceſſary for

[x] 4th of July, 1644. [y] 8th of Sept. 1644. [z] Dugdale, p. 737. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 850. [a] Whitlocke, p. 110.

him

him to retract his former declaration, that the two houſes at Weſtminſter were not a free parliament; and accordingly, he was induced, though with great reluctance, to give them, in his anſwer, the appellation of the parliament of England [b]. But it appeared afterwards, by a letter, which he wrote to the queen, and of which a copy was taken at Naſeby, that he ſecretly entered an explanatory proteſtation in his council-book; and he pretended, that, though he had *called* them the parliament, he had not thereby *acknowledged* them for ſuch [c]. This ſubtlety, which has been frequently objected to Charles, is the moſt noted of thoſe very few inſtances, from which the enemies of this prince have endeavoured to load him with the imputation of inſincerity; and have inferred, that the parliament could repoſe no confidence in his profeſſions and declarations, not even in his laws and ſtatutes. There is, however, it muſt be confeſſed, a difference univerſally avowed between ſimply giving to men the appellation, which they aſſume, and the formal acknowledgment of their title to it; nor is any thing more common and familiar in all public tranſactions.

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

THE time and place of treaty being ſettled, ſixteen commiſſioners from the king met at Uxbridge with twelve authorized by the parliament, attended by the Scotch commiſſioners. It was agreed, that the Scotch and parliamentary commiſſioners ſhould give in their demands with regard to three important articles, *religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland*; and that theſe ſhould be ſucceſſively 30 h Jan.

b Whitlocke, p. 111. Dugdale, p. 748. c His words are, "As for my calling thoſe at London a parliament, I ſhall refer thee to Digby "for particular ſatisfaction; this in general: If there had been but two "beſides myſelf, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument, that "prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to "be a parliament; upon which condition and conſtruction I did it, and no "otherwiſe; and accordingly it is regiſtered in the council books, with the "council's unanimous approbation." *The king's cabinet opened. Ruſh.* vol. vi. p. 913.

examined

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

examined and diſcuſſed in conferences with the king's commiſſioners [d]. It was ſoon found impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of theſe articles.

In the ſummer 1643, while the negotiations were carried on with Scotland, the parliament had ſummoned an aſſembly at Weſtminſter, compoſed of 121 divines and 30 laymen, celebrated in their party for piety and learning. By their advice, alterations were made in the thirty-nine articles, or in the metaphyſical doctrines of the church; and, what was of greater importance, the liturgy was entirely aboliſhed, and, in its ſtead, a new directory for worſhip was eſtabliſhed; by which, ſuitably to the ſpirit of the puritans, the utmoſt liberty, both in praying and preaching, was indulged to the public teachers. By the ſolemn league and covenant, epiſcopacy was abjured, as deſtructive of all true piety; and a national engagement, attended with every circumſtance, which could render a promiſe ſacred and obligatory, was entered into with the Scots, never to ſuffer its re-admiſſion. All theſe meaſures ſhowed little ſpirit of accommodation in the parliament; and the king's commiſſioners were not ſurprized to find the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery and the directory poſitively demanded, together with the ſubſcription of the covenant, both by the king and kingdom [e].

Had

[d] Whitlocke, p. 121. Dugdale, p. 758.

[e] Such love of contradiction prevailed in the parliament, that they had converted Chriſtmas, which, with the churchmen, was a great feſtival, into a ſolemn faſt and humiliation; "In order," as they ſaid, "that it might call to remembrance our ſins and the ſins of our forefathers, who, pretending to celebrate the memory of Chriſt, have turned this feaſt into an extreme forgetfulneſs of him, by giving liberty to carnal and ſenſual delights." *Ruſh.* vol. vi. p. 817. It is remarkable, that, as the parliament aboliſhed all holy days, and ſeverely prohibited all amuſement on the ſabbath; and even burned, by the hands of the hangman, the king's book of ſports; the nation

CHAP. LVII.

1645.

HAD Charles been of a diſpoſition to neglect all theological controverſy; he yet had been obliged, in good policy, to adhere to epiſcopal juriſdiction, not only becauſe it was favourable to monarchy, but becauſe all his adherents were paſſionately devoted to it; and to abandon them, in what they regarded as ſo important an article, was for ever to relinquiſh their friendſhip and aſſiſtance. But Charles had never attained ſuch enlarged principles. He eſteemed biſhops eſſential to the very being of a chriſtian church; and he thought himſelf bound, by more ſacred ties, than thoſe of policy, or even of honour, to the ſupport of that order. His conceſſions therefore, on this head, he judged ſufficient, when he agreed, that an indulgence ſhould be given to tender

nation found, that there was no time left for relaxation or diverſion. Upon application, therefore, of the ſervants and apprentices, the parliament appointed the ſecond Tueſday of every month for play and recreation. *Ruſh.* vol. vii. p. 460. *Whitlocke*, p. 247. But theſe inſtitutions, they found great difficulty to execute; and the people were reſolved to be merry when they pleaſed, not when the parliament ſhould preſcribe to them. The keeping of Chriſtmas holy-days was long a great mark of malignancy, and very ſeverely cenſured by the commons. *Whitlocke*, p. 286. Even minced pyes, which cuſtom had made a Chriſtmas diſh among the churchmen, was regarded, during that ſeaſon, as a profane and ſuperſtitious viand by the ſectaries; though at other times it agreed very well with their ſtomachs. In the parliamentary ordinance too, for the obſervance of the ſabbath, they inſerted a clauſe for the taking down of may-poles, which they called a heatheniſh vanity. Since we are upon this ſubject, it may not be amiſs to mention, that, beſide ſetting apart Sunday for the ordinances, as they called them, the godly had regular meetings on the Thurſdays for reſolving caſes of conſcience, and conferring about their progreſs in grace. What they were chiefly anxious about, was the fixing the preciſe moment of their converſion or new birth; and whoever could not aſcertain ſo difficult a point of calculation, could not pretend to any title to ſaintſhip. The profane ſcholars at Oxford, after the parliament became maſters of that town, gave to the houſe, in which the zealots aſſembled, the denomination of *Scruple-Shop*: The zealots, in their turn, inſulted the ſcholars and profeſſors; and, intruding into the place of lectures, declaimed againſt human learning, and challenged the moſt knowing of them to prove that their calling was from Chriſt. See Wood's Faſti Oxonienſes, p. 740.

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

consciences with regard to ceremonies; that the bishops should exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent and counsel of such presbyters as should be chosen by the clergy of each diocese; that they should reside constantly in their diocese, and be bound to preach every Sunday; that pluralities be abolished; that abuses in ecclesiastical courts be redressed; and that a hundred thousand pounds be levied from the bishops' estates and the chapter lands, for payment of debts contracted by the parliament [f]. These concessions, though considerable, gave no satisfaction to the parliamentary commissioners; and, without abating any thing of their rigor on this head, they proceeded to their demands with regard to the militia.

THE king's partizans had all along maintained, that the fears and jealousies of the parliament, after the securities so early and easily given to public liberty, were either feigned or groundless; and that no human institution could be better poized and adjusted, than was now the government of England. By the abolition of the star-chamber and court of high commission, the prerogative, they said, has lost all that coercive power, by which it had formerly suppressed or endangered liberty: By the establishment of triennial parliaments, it can have no leisure to acquire new powers, or guard itself, during any time, from the inspection of that vigilant assembly: By the slender revenue of the crown, no king can ever attain such influence as to procure a repeal of these salutary statutes: And while the prince commands no mercenary forces, he will in vain, by violence, attempt an infringement of laws, so clearly defined by means of late disputes, and so passionately cherished by all his subjects. In this situation surely, the nation, governed by so virtuous a monarch, may, for the present, remain in tran-

[f] Dugdale, p. 779, 780.

quillity,

quillity, and try, whether it be not poſſible, by peaceful arts, to elude that danger, with which, it is pretended, its liberties are ſtill threatened. CHAP. LVII. 1645.

But though the royaliſts inſiſted on theſe plauſible topics, before the commencement of war, they were obliged to own, that the progreſs of civil commotions had ſomewhat abated the force and evidence of this reaſoning. If the power of the militia, ſaid the oppoſite party, be entruſted to the king, it would not now be difficult for him to abuſe that authority. By the rage of inteſtine diſcord, his partizans are enflamed into an extreme hatred againſt their antagoniſts; and have contracted, no doubt, ſome prejudices againſt popular privileges, which, in their apprehenſion, have been the ſource of ſo much diſorder. Were the arms of the ſtate, therefore, put entirely into ſuch hands; what public ſecurity, it may be demanded, can be given to liberty, or what private ſecurity to thoſe, who, in oppoſition to the letter of the law, have ſo generouſly ventured their lives in its defence? In compliance with this apprehenſion, Charles offered, that the arms of the ſtate ſhould be entruſted, during three years, to twenty commiſſioners, who ſhould be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or one half by him, the other by the parliament. And, after the expiration of that term, he inſiſted, that his conſtitutional authority over the militia ſhould again return to him [g].

The parliamentary commiſſioners at firſt demanded, that the power of the ſword ſhould for ever be entruſted to ſuch perſons, as the parliament alone ſhould appoint [h]: But afterwards, they relaxed ſo far, as to require that authority only for ſeven years; after which, it was not to return to the king, but to be ſettled by bill, or by common agreement between him and his parliament [i].

[g] Dugdale, p. 798. [h] Ibid. p. 791. [i] Ibid. p. 820.

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

The king's commiſſioners aſked, Whether jealouſies and fears were all on one ſide, and whether the prince, from ſuch violent attempts and pretenſions as he had experienced, had not, at leaſt, as great reaſon to entertain apprehenſions for his authority, as they for their liberty? Whether there were any equity, in ſecuring only one party, and leaving the other, during the ſpace of ſeven years, entirely at the mercy of their enemies? Whether, if unlimited power were entruſted to the parliament during ſo long a period, it would not be eaſy for them to frame the ſubſequent bill in the manner moſt agreeable to themſelves, and keep for ever poſſeſſion of the ſword, as well as of every article of civil power and juriſdiction [k]?

THE truth is, after the commencement of war, it was very difficult, if not impoſſible, to find ſecurity for both parties, eſpecially for that of the parliament. Amidſt ſuch violent animoſities, power alone could enſure ſafety; and the power of one ſide was neceſſarily attended with danger to the other. Few or no inſtances occur in hiſtory of an equal, peaceful, and durable accommodation, that has been concluded between two factions, which have been enflamed into civil war.

WITH regard to Ireland, there were no greater hopes of agreement between the parties. The parliament demanded, that the truce with the rebels ſhould be declared null; that the management of the war ſhould be given over entirely to the parliament; and that after the conqueſt of Ireland, the nomination of the lord lieutenant and of the judges, or in other words, the ſovereignty of that kingdom, ſhould likewiſe remain in their hands [l].

WHAT rendered a peaceful accommodation more deſperate was, that the demands on theſe three heads, however exorbitant, were acknowledged, by the parliamentary commiſſioners, to be nothing but preliminaries.

[k] Dugdale, p. 877. [l] Ibid. p. 826, 827.

After

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

After all these were granted, it would be necessary to proceed to the discussion of those other demands, still more exorbitant, which, a little before, had been transmitted to the king at Oxford. Such ignominious terms were there insisted on, as worse could scarcely be demanded, were Charles totally vanquished, a prisoner, and in chains. The king was required to attaint and except from a general pardon, forty of the most considerable of his English subjects, and nineteen of his Scotch, together with all popish recusants in both kingdoms, who had borne arms for him. It was insisted, that forty-eight more, with all the members who had sat in either house at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the king's party, should be rendered incapable of any office, be forbid the exercise of their profession, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their estates to the parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the king, should forfeit the tenth of their estates, or if that did not suffice, the sixth, for the payment of public debts. As if royal authority were not sufficiently annihilated by such terms, it was demanded, that the court of wards should be abolished; that all the considerable officers of the crown, and all the judges, should be appointed by parliament; and that the right of peace and war should not be exercised without the consent of that assembly [m]. The presbyterians, it must be confessed, after insisting on such conditions, differed only in words from the independents, who required the establishment of a pure republic. When the debates had been carried on to no purpose, during twenty days, among the commissioners, they separated, and returned; those of the king, to Oxford, those of the parliament, to London.

[m] Rush. vol. vi. p. 850. Dugdale, p. 737.

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

A LITTLE before the commencement of this fruitleſs treaty, a deed was executed by the parliament, which proved their determined reſolution to yield nothing, but to proceed in the ſame violent and imperious manner, with which they had, at firſt, entered on theſe dangerous enterprizes. Archbiſhop Laud, the moſt favoured miniſter of the king, was brought to the ſcaffold; and in this inſtance, the public might ſee, that popular aſſemblies, as, by their very number, they are, in a great meaſure, exempt from the reſtraint of ſhame, ſo, when they alſo overleap the bounds of law, naturally break out into acts of the greateſt tyranny and injuſtice.

Execution of Laud.

FROM the time, that Laud had been committed, the houſe of commons, engaged in enterprizes of greater moment, had found no leiſure to finiſh his impeachment; and he had patiently endured ſo long an impriſonment, without being brought to any trial. After the union with Scotland, the bigotted prejudices of that nation revived the like ſpirit in England; and the ſectaries reſolved to gratify their vengeance in the puniſhment of this prelate, who had ſo long, by his authority, and by the execution of penal laws, kept their zealous ſpirit under confinement. He was accuſed of high treaſon, in endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and miſdemeanors. The ſame illegality of an accumulative crime and a conſtructive evidence, which appeared in the caſe of Strafford; the ſame violence and iniquity in conducting the trial, are conſpicuous throughout the whole courſe of this proſecution. The groundleſs charge of popery, though belied by his whole life and conduct, was continually urged againſt the priſoner; and every error rendered unpardonable by this imputation, which was ſuppoſed to imply the height of all enormities. "This man, my lords," ſaid ſerjeant Wilde, concluding

concluding his long ſpeech againſt him, "is like Naa- CHAP. LVII.
"man the Syrian; a great man, but a leper [n]." 1645.

We ſhall not enter into a detail of this matter, which, at preſent, ſeems to admit of little controverſy. It ſuffices to ſay, that, after a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witneſſes, the commons found ſo little likelihood of obtaining a judicial ſentence againſt Laud, that they were obliged to have recourſe to their legiſlative authority, and to paſs an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. Notwithſtanding the low condition, into which the houſe of peers were fallen, there appeared ſome intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguiſh, by threats of new tumults, the ſmall remains of liberty, poſſeſſed by the upper houſe. Seven peers alone voted in this important queſtion. The reſt, either from ſhame or fear, took care to abſent themſelves [o].

Laud, who had behaved during his trial with ſpirit and vigor of genius, ſunk not under the horrors of his execution; but though he uſually profeſſed himſelf apprehenſive of a violent death, he found all his fears to be diſſipated before that ſuperior courage, by which he was animated. "No one," ſaid he, "can be more willing "to ſend me out of life, than I am deſirous to go." Even upon the ſcaffold, and during the intervals of his prayers, he was harraſſed and moleſted by Sir John Clotworthy, a zealot of the reigning ſect, and a great leader in the lower houſe: This was the time he choſe for examining the principles of the dying primate, and trepaning him into a confeſſion, that he truſted, for his ſalvation, to the merits of good works, not to the death of the Redeemer [p]. Having extricated himſelf from theſe

[n] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 830.
[o] Warwick, p. 169.
[p] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 838, 839.

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

theological toils, the archbiſhop laid his head on the block; and it was ſevered from the body at one blow [q]. Thoſe religious opinions, for which he ſuffered, contributed, no doubt, to the courage and conſtancy of his end. Sincere, he undoubtedly was, and however miſguided, actuated by pious motives in all his purſuits; and it is to be regretted, that a man of ſuch ſpirit, who conducted his enterprizes with ſo much warmth and induſtry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happineſs of ſociety.

THE great and important advantage, which the party gained by Strafford's death, may, in ſome degree, palliate the iniquity of the ſentence pronounced againſt him: But the execution of this old infirm prelate, who had ſo long remained an inoffenſive priſoner, can be aſcribed to nothing but vengeance and bigotry in thoſe ſevere religioniſts, by whom the parliament was entirely governed. That he deſerved a better fate was not queſtioned by any reaſonable man: The degree of his merit, in other reſpects, was diſputed. Some accuſed him of recommending ſlaviſh doctrines, of promoting perſecution, and of encouraging ſuperſtition; while others thought, that his conduct, in theſe three particulars, would admit of apology and extenuation.

THAT the *letter* of the law, as much as the moſt flaming court-ſermon, inculcates paſſive obedience, is very apparent: And though the *ſpirit* of a limited government ſeems to require, in extraordinary caſes, ſome mitigation of ſo rigorous a doctrine; it muſt be confeſſed, that the preceding genius of the Engliſh conſtitution had rendered a miſtake in this particular very natural and excuſable. To inflict death at leaſt on thoſe, who depart from the exact line of truth in theſe nice

[q] 12th of July.

queſtions;

queſtions; ſo far from being favourable to national liberty; favours ſtrongly of the ſpirit of tyranny and proſcription. CHAP. LVII. 1645.

TOLERATION had hitherto been ſo little the principle of any chriſtian ſect, that even the catholics, the remnant of the religion profeſſed by their anceſtors, could not obtain from the Engliſh the leaſt indulgence. This very houſe of commons, in their famous remonſtrance, took care to juſtify themſelves, as from the higheſt imputation, from any intention to relax the golden reins of diſcipline, as they called them, or to grant any toleration [r]: And the enemies of the church were ſo fair from the beginning, as not to lay claim to liberty of conſcience, which they called a toleration for foul murder. They openly challenged the ſuperiority, and even menaced the eſtabliſhed church with that perſecution, which they afterwards exerciſed againſt her with ſuch ſeverity. And if the queſtion be conſidered in the view of policy; though a ſect, already formed and advanced, may, with good reaſon, demand a toleration; what title had the puritans to this indulgence, who were juſt on the point of ſeparation from the church, and whom, it might be hoped, ſome wholſome and legal ſeverities would ſtill retain in obedience [s]?

WHATEVER ridicule, to a philoſophical mind, may be thrown on pious ceremonies, it muſt be confeſſed, that, during a very religious age, no inſtitutions can be more advantageous to the rude multitude, and tend more to mollify that fierce and gloomy ſpirit of devotion, to which they are ſubject. Even the Engliſh church, though it had retained a ſhare of popiſh ceremonies, may juſtly be thought too naked and unadorned, and ſtill to approach too near the abſtract and ſpiritual religion of the puritans. Laud and his aſſociates, by reviving a few

[r] Nalſon, vol. ii. p. 705. [s] See note [A] at the end of the volume.

primitive

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

primitive inſtitutions of this nature, corrected the error of the firſt reformers, and preſented, to the affrightened and aſtoniſhed mind, ſome ſenſible, exterior obſervances, which might occupy it during its religious exerciſes, and abate the violence of its diſappointed efforts. The thought, no longer bent on that divine and myſterious eſſence, ſo ſuperior to the narrow capacities of mankind, was able, by means of the new model of devotion, to relax itſelf in the contemplation of pictures, poſtures, veſtments, buildings; and all the fine arts, which miniſter to religion, thereby received additional encouragement. The primate, it is true, conducted this ſcheme, not with the enlarged ſentiments and cool reflection of a legiſlator, but with the intemperate zeal of a ſectary; and by overlooking the circumſtances of the times, ſerved rather to enflame that religious fury, which he meant to repreſs. But this blemiſh is more to be regarded as a general imputation on the whole age, than any particular failing of Laud's; and it is ſufficient for his vindication to obſerve, that his errors were the moſt excuſable of all thoſe, which prevailed during that zealous period.

CHAP. LVIII.

Montroſe's victories——The new model of the army——Battle of Naſeby——Surrender of Briſtol——The weſt conquered by Fairfax——Defeat of Montroſe——Eccleſiaſtical affairs——King goes to the Scots at Newark——End of the war——King delivered up by the Scots.

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

WHILE the king's affairs declined in England, ſome events happened in Scotland, which ſeemed to promiſe him a more proſperous iſſue of the quarrel.

Montroſe's victories.

BEFORE the commencement of theſe civil diſorders, the earl of Montroſe, a young nobleman of a diſtinguiſhed family, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the king, and had made an offer of his ſervices; but by the inſinuations of the marqueſs, afterwards duke of Hamilton, who poſſeſſed much of Charles's confidence, he had not been received with that diſtinction, to which he thought himſelf juſtly intitled [t]. Diſguſted with this treatment, he had forwarded all the violence of the covenanters; and agreeably to the natural ardour of his genius, he had employed himſelf, during the firſt Scottiſh inſurrection, with great zeal as well as ſucceſs, in levying and conducting their armies. Being commiſſioned by the *Tables* to wait upon the king, while the royal army lay at Berwic, he was ſo gained by the civilities and careſſes of that monarch, that he thenceforth devoted himſelf entirely, though ſecretly, to his ſervice, and entered into a cloſe correſpondence with

[t] Nalſon, Intr. p. 63.

him.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

him. In the ſecond inſurrection, a great military command was entruſted to him by the covenanters; and he was the firſt that paſſed the Tweed, at the head of their troops, in the invaſion of England. He found means, however, ſoon after to convey a letter to the king: And by the infidelity of ſome about that prince; Hamilton, as was ſuſpected; a copy of this letter was ſent to Leven, the Scotch general. Being accuſed of treachery, and a correſpondence with the enemy, Montroſe openly avowed the letter; and aſked the generals, if they dared to call their ſovereign an enemy: And by this bold and magnanimous behaviour, he eſcaped the danger of an immediate proſecution. As he was now fully known to be of the royal party, he no longer concealed his principles; and he endeavoured to draw thoſe, who had entertained like ſentiments, into a bond of aſſociation for his maſter's ſervice. Though thrown into priſon for this enterprize [u], and detained ſome time, he was not diſcouraged; but ſtill continued, by his countenance and protection, to infuſe ſpirit into the diſtreſſed royaliſts. Among other perſons of diſtinction, who united themſelves to him, was lord Napier of Merchiſton, ſon of the famous inventor of the logarithms, the perſon to whom the title of a GREAT MAN is more juſtly due, than to any other, whom his country ever produced.

THERE was in Scotland another party, who, profeſſing equal attachment to the king's ſervice, pretended only to differ with Montroſe about the means of attaining the ſame end; and of that party, duke Hamilton was the leader. This nobleman had cauſe to be extremely devoted to the king, not only by reaſon of the connexion of

[u] It is not improper to take notice of a miſtake committed by Clarendon, much to the diſadvantage of this gallant nobleman; that he offered the king, when his majeſty was in Scotland, to aſſaſſinate Argyle. All the time the king was in Scotland, Montroſe was confined to priſon. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 980.

blood,

blood, which united him to the royal family; but on account of the great confidence and favour, with which he had ever been honoured by his maſter. Being accuſed by lord Rae, not without ſome appearance or probability, of a conſpiracy againſt the king; Charles was ſo far from harbouring ſuſpicion againſt him, that, the very firſt time Hamilton came to court, he received him into his bed-chamber, and paſſed alone the night with him [w]. But ſuch was the duke's unhappy fate or conduct, that he eſcaped not the imputation of treachery to his friend and ſovereign; and though he at laſt ſacrificed his life in the king's ſervice, his integrity and ſincerity have not been thought by hiſtorians entirely free from blemiſh. Perhaps, (and this is the moſt probable opinion) the ſubtilties and refinements of his conduct and his temporizing maxims, though accompanied with good intentions, have been the chief cauſe of a ſuſpicion, which has never yet been either fully proved or refuted. As much as the bold and vivid ſpirit of Montroſe prompted him to enterprizing meaſures, as much was the cautious temper of Hamilton inclined to ſuch as were moderate and dilatory. While the former foretold, that the Scottiſh covenanters were ſecretly forming an union with the Engliſh parliament, and inculcated the neceſſity of preventing them by ſome vigorous undertaking; the latter ſtill inſiſted, that every ſuch attempt would precipitate them into meaſures, to which, otherwiſe, they were not, perhaps, inclined. After the Scotch parliament was ſummoned without the king's authority, the former exclaimed, that their intentions were now viſible, and that, if ſome unexpected blow was not ſtruck, to diſſipate them, they would arm the whole nation againſt the king; the latter maintained the poſſibility of outvoting the diſaffected party, and ſecuring, by peaceful means, the allegiance of the Scotch nation [x]. Unhappily for the royal cauſe, Hamilton's repre-

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

[w] Nalſon, vol. ii. p. 683. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 980. Wiſhart, cap. 2.

[x] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 380, 381.

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

repreſentations met with more credit from the king and queen, than thoſe of Montroſe; and the covenanters were allowed, without interruption, to proceed in all their hoſtile meaſures. Montroſe then haſtened to Oxford; where his invectives againſt Hamilton's treachery, concurring with the general prepoſſeſſion, and ſupported by the unfortunate event of his counſels, were entertained with univerſal approbation. Influenced by the clamour of his party, more than his own ſuſpicions, Charles, as ſoon as Hamilton appeared, ſent him priſoner to Pendennis caſtle in Cornwall. His brother, Laneric, who was alſo put under confinement, found means to make his eſcape, and to fly into Scotland.

THE king's ears were now open to Montroſe's counſels, who propoſed none but the boldeſt and moſt daring, agreeably to the deſperate ſtate of the royal cauſe in Scotland. Though the whole nation was ſubjected by the covenanters, though great armies were kept on foot by them, and every place guarded by a vigilant adminiſtration; he undertook, by his own credit, and that of the few friends, who remained to the king, to raiſe ſuch commotions, as would ſoon oblige the malcontents to recal thoſe forces, which had ſo ſenſibly thrown the balance in favour of the parliament [y]. Not diſcouraged with the defeat at Marſton-moor, which rendered it impoſſible for him to draw any ſuccour from England; he was content to ſtipulate with the earl of Antrim, a nobleman of Ireland, for ſome ſupply of men from that country. And he himſelf, changing his diſguiſes and paſſing through many dangers, arrived in Scotland; where he lay concealed in the borders of the Highlands, and ſecretly prepared the minds of his partizans for attempting ſome great enterprize [z].

[y] Wiſhart, cap. 3.

[z] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 618. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 982. Wiſhart, cap. 4.

No

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

No sooner were the Irish landed, though not exceeding eleven hundred foot, very ill armed, than Montrose declared himself, and entered upon that scene of action, which has rendered his name so celebrated. About eight hundred of the men of Athole flocked to his standard. Five hundred men more, who had been levied by the covenanters, were persuaded to embrace the royal cause: And with this combined force, he hastened to attack lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with an army of 6000 men, assembled upon the first news of the Irish invasion. Montrose, inferior in number, totally unprovided of horse, ill supplied with arms and ammunition, had nothing to depend on, but the courage, which he himself, by his own example, and the rapidity of his enterprizes, should inspire into his raw soldiers. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was answered chiefly with a volley of stones, he rushed amidst them with his sword drawn, threw them into confusion, pushed his advantage, and obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of two thousand of the covenanters [a].

This victory, though it augmented the renown of Montrose, encreased not his power or numbers. The far greater part of the kingdom was extremely attached to the covenant; and such as bore an affection to the royal cause, were terrified by the established authority of the opposite party. Dreading the superior power of Argyle, who, having joined his vassals to a force levied by the public, was approaching with a considerable army; Montrose hastened northwards, in order to rouze again the marquess of Huntley and the Gordons, who, having before hastily taken arms, had been instantly suppressed by the covenanters. He was joined on his march by the earl of Airly, with his two younger sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy: The eldest was, at that time, a

[a] 1st of September, 1644. Rush. vol. vi. p. 983. Wishart, cap. 5.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

priſoner with the enemy. He attacked at Aberdeen the lord Burley, who commanded a force of 2500 men. After a ſharp combat, by his undaunted courage, which, in his ſituation, was true policy, and was alſo not unaccompanied with military ſkill, he put the enemy to flight, and in the purſuit did great execution upon them [b].

But by this ſecond advantage, he obtained not the end, which he propoſed. The envious nature of Huntley, jealous of Montroſe's glory, rendered him averſe to join an army, where he himſelf muſt be ſo much eclipſed by the ſuperior merit of the general. Argyle, re-inforced by the earl of Lothian, was behind him with a great army: The militia of the northern counties, Murray, Roſs, Caithneſs, to the number of 5000 men, oppoſed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to elude theſe numerous armies, he turned aſide into the hills, and ſaved his weak, but active troops, in Badenoch. After ſome marches and counter-marches, Argyle came up with him at Faivy-caſtle. This nobleman's character, though celebrated for political courage and conduct, was very low for military proweſs; and after ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which he was worſted, he here allowed Montroſe to eſcape him. By quick marches, through theſe inacceſſible mountains, that general freed himſelf from the ſuperior forces of the covenanters.

Such was the ſituation of Montroſe, that very good or very ill fortune was equally deſtructive to him, and diminiſhed his army. After every victory, his ſoldiers, greedy of ſpoil, but deeming the ſmalleſt acquiſition to be unexhauſted riches, deſerted in great numbers, and went home to ſecure the treaſures, which they had acquired. Tired too, and ſpent with haſty and long marches, in the depth of winter, through ſnowy moun-

[b] 11th of September, 1644. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 983. Wiſhart, cap. 7.

tains

tains unprovided of every neceſſary, they fell off, and left their general almoſt alone with the Iriſh, who, having no place, to which they could retire, ſtill adhered to him in every fortune. CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

WITH theſe, and ſome reinforcement of the Atholemen, and Macdonalds whom he had recalled, Montroſe fell ſuddenly upon Argyle's country, and let looſe upon it all the rage of war; carrying off the cattle, burning the houſes, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword. This ſeverity, by which Montroſe ſullied his victories, was the reſult of private animoſity againſt the chieftain, as much as of zeal for the public cauſe. Argyle, collecting three thouſand men, marched in queſt of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Innerlochy, ſuppoſing himſelf ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance from them. The earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garriſon of Inverneſs, who were veteran ſoldiers, joined to 5000 new levied troops of the northern counties, preſſed the royaliſts on the other ſide, and threatened them with inevitable deſtruction. By a quick and unexpected march, Montroſe haſtened to Innerlochy, and preſented himſelf in order of battle, before the ſurpriſed, but not affrightened, covenanters. Argyle alone, ſeized with a panic, deſerted his army, who ſtill maintained their ground, and gave battle to the royaliſts. After a vigorous reſiſtance, they were defeated, and purſued with great ſlaughter [c]. And the power of the Campbels (that is Argyle's name) being thus broken; the highlanders, who were in general well-affected to the royal cauſe, began to join Montroſe's camp, in great numbers. Seaforth's army diſperſed of itſelf, at the very terror of his name. And lord Gordon, eldeſt ſon of Huntley, having eſcaped from his uncle Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montroſe, with no contemptible 2d Feb.

[c] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 985. Wiſhart, cap. 8.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

number of his followers, attended by his brother, the earl of Aboine.

THE council at Edinburgh, alarmed at Montroſe's progreſs, began to think of a more regular plan of defence, againſt an enemy, whoſe repeated victories had rendered him extremely formidable. They ſent for Baillie, an officer of reputation, from England; and joining him in command with Urrey, who had again inliſted himſelf among the king's enemies, they ſent them to the field, with a conſiderable army, againſt the royaliſts. Montroſe, with a detachment of 800 men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely zealous for the covenant: And having carried it by aſſault, had delivered it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers; when Baillie and Urrey, with their whole force, were unexpectedly upon him [d]. His conduct and preſence of mind, in this emergence, appeared conſpicuous. Inſtantly he called off his ſoldiers from plunder, put them in order, ſecured his retreat by the moſt ſkilful meaſures; and having marched ſixty miles in the face of an enemy much ſuperior, without ſtopping, or allowing his ſoldiers the leaſt ſleep or refreſhment, he at laſt ſecured himſelf in the mountains.

BAILLIE and Urrey now divided their troops, in order the better to conduct the war againſt an enemy, who ſurpriſed them, as much by the rapidity of his marches, as by the boldneſs of his enterprizes. Urrey, at the head of 4000 men, met him at Alderne, near Inverneſs; and, encouraged by the ſuperiority of number (for the covenanters were double the royaliſts,) attacked him in the poſt which he had choſen. Montroſe, having placed his right wing in ſtrong ground, drew the beſt of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by ſhowing a few men through the trees and buſhes, with which that ground

[d] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 228. Wiſhart, cap. 9.

was

was covered. That Urrey might have no leiſure to perceive the ſtratagem, he inſtantly led his left wing to the charge; and, making a furious impreſſion upon the covenanters, drove them off the field, and obtained a compleat victory [e]. In this battle, the valour of young Napier, ſon to the lord of that name, ſhone out with ſignal luſtre. CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

BAILLIE now advanced, in order to revenge Urrey's diſcomfiture; but, at Alford, he met, himſelf, with a like fate [f]. Montroſe, weak in cavalry, here lined his troops of horſe with infantry; and after putting the enemies' horſe to rout, fell with united force upon their foot, who were entirely cut in pieces, though with the loſs of the gallant lord Gordon on the part of the royaliſts [g]. And having thus prevailed in ſo many battles, which his vigour ever rendered as deciſive as they were ſucceſsful; he ſummoned together all his friends and partizans, and prepared himſelf for marching into the ſouthern provinces, in order to put a final period to the power of the covenanters, and diſſipate the parliament, which, with great pomp and ſolemnity, they had ſummoned to meet at St. Johnſtone's.

WHILE the fire was thus kindled in the north of the iſland, it blazed out with no leſs fury in the ſouth: The parliamentary and royal armies, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, prepared to take the field, in hopes of bringing their important quarrel to a quick deciſion. The paſſing of the ſelf-denying ordinance had been protracted by ſo many debates and intrigues, that the ſpring was far advanced before it received the ſanction of both houſes; and it was thought dangerous by many to introduce, ſo near the time of action, ſuch great innovations into the army. Had not the punctilious principles of Eſſex

[e] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 229. Wiſhart, cap. 10. [f] 2d of July.
[g] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 229. Wiſhart, cap. 11.

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

engaged him, amidſt all the diſguſts which he received, to pay implicit obedience to the parliament; this alteration had not been effected without ſome fatal accident: Since, notwithſtanding his prompt reſignation of the command, a mutiny was generally apprehended [h]. Fairfax, or more properly ſpeaking, Cromwel under his name, introduced, at laſt, the *new model* into the army, and threw the troops into a different ſhape. From the ſame men, new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into ſuch hands, as the independents could rely on. Beſides members of parliament who were excluded, many officers, unwilling to ſerve under the new generals, threw up their commiſſions; and unwarily facilitated the project of putting the army entirely into the hands of that faction.

THOUGH the diſcipline of the former parliamentary army was not contemptible, a more exact plan was introduced, and rigorouſly executed, by theſe new commanders. Valour indeed was very generally diffuſed over the one party as well as the other, during this period: Diſcipline alſo was attained by the forces of the parliament: But the perfection of the military art, in concerting the general plans of action, and the operations of the field, ſeems ſtill, on both ſides, to have been, in a great meaſure, wanting. Hiſtorians at leaſt, perhaps from their own ignorance and inexperience, have not remarked any thing but a headlong impetuous conduct; each party hurrying to a battle, where valour and fortune chiefly determined the ſucceſs. The great ornament of hiſtory, during theſe reigns, are the civil, not the military tranſactions.

New model of the army.

NEVER ſurely was a more ſingular army aſſembled, than that which was now ſet on foot by the parliament.

[h] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 126, 127.

To

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

To the greateſt number of the regiments, chaplains were not appointed: The officers aſſumed the ſpiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. During the intervals of action, they occupied themſelves in ſermons, prayers, exhortations; and the ſame emulation, there, attended them, which, in the field, is ſo neceſſary to ſupport the honour of that profeſſion. Rapturous ecſtaſies ſupplied the place of ſtudy and reflection; and while the zealous devotees poured out their thoughts in unpremeditated harangues, they miſtook that eloquence, which, to their own ſurprize, as well as that of others, flowed in upon them, for divine illuminations, and for illapſes of the Holy Spirit. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the miniſter from his pulpit; and, uſurping his place, conveyed their ſentiments to the audience, with all the authority, which followed their power, their valour, and their military exploits, united to their appearing zeal and fervor. The private ſoldiers, ſeized with the ſame ſpirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in peruſing the Holy Scriptures, in ghoſtly conferences; where they compared the progreſs of their ſouls in grace, and mutually ſtimulated each other to farther advances in the great work of their ſalvation. When they were marching to battle, the whole field reſounded, as well with pſalms and ſpiritual ſongs adapted to the occaſion, as with the inſtruments of military muſic[i]; and every man endeavoured to drown the ſenſe of preſent danger, in the proſpect of that crown of glory, which was ſet before him. In ſo holy a cauſe, wounds were eſteemed meritorious; death, martyrdom; and the hurry and dangers of action, inſtead of baniſhing their pious viſions, ſerved rather to impreſs their minds more ſtrongly with them.

THE royaliſts were deſirous of throwing a ridicule on this fanaticiſm of the parliamentary armies, without be-

[i] Dugdale, p. 7. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 281.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

ing ſenſible how much reaſon they had to apprehend its dangerous conſequences. The forces, aſſembled by the king at Oxford, in the weſt, and in other places, were equal, if not ſuperior, in number, to their adverſaries; but actuated by a very different ſpirit. That licence, which had been introduced by want of pay, had riſen to a great height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies. Prince Rupert, negligent of the people, fond of the ſoldiery, had indulged the troops in unwarrantable liberties: Wilmot, a man of diſſolute manners, had promoted the ſame ſpirit of diſorder: And the licentious Goring, Gerrard, Sir Richard Granville, now carried it to a great pitch of enormity. In the weſt eſpecially, where Goring commanded, univerſal ſpoil and havoc were committed; and the whole country was laid waſte by the rapine of the army. All diſtinction of parties being in a manner dropped; the moſt devoted friends of the church and monarchy wiſhed there for ſuch ſucceſs to the parliamentary forces, as might put an end to theſe oppreſſions. The country people, deſpoiled of their ſubſtance, flocked together in ſeveral places, armed with clubs and ſtaves; and though they profeſſed an enmity to the ſoldiers of both parties, their hatred was in moſt places levelled chiefly againſt the royaliſts, from whom they had met with the worſt treatment. Many thouſands of theſe tumultuary peaſants were aſſembled in different parts of England; who deſtroyed all ſuch ſtraggling ſoldiers as they met with, and much infeſted the armies [k].

THE diſpoſition of the forces on both ſides, was as follows: Part of the Scottiſh army was employed in taking Pomfret, and other towns in Yorkſhire: Part of it beſieged Carliſle, valiantly defended by ſir Thomas Glen-

k Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 52, 61, 62. Whitlocke, p. 130, 131, 133, 135. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 665.

ham,

ham. Cheſter, where Biron commanded, had long been blockaded by ſir William Brereton; and was reduced to great difficulties. The king, being joined by the princes, Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with a conſiderable army, about 15,000 men. Fairfax and Cromwel were poſted at Windſor, with the new modelled army, about 22,000 men. Taunton, in the county of Somerſet, defended by Blake, ſuffered a long ſiege from Sir Richard Granville, who commanded an army of about 8000 men; and though the defence had been obſtinate, the garriſon was now reduced to the laſt extremity. Goring commanded, in the weſt, an army of nearly the ſame number [l].

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

On opening the campaign, the king formed the project of relieving Cheſter; Fairfax, that of relieving Taunton. The king was firſt in motion. When he advanced to Draiton in Shropſhire, Biron met him, and brought intelligence, that his approach had raiſed the ſiege, and that the parliamentary army had withdrawn. Fairfax, having reached Saliſbury in his road weſtward, received orders from the committee of both kingdoms, appointed for the management of the war, to return and lay ſiege to Oxford, now expoſed by the king's abſence. He obeyed, after ſending colonel Weldon to the weſt, with a detachment of 4000 men. On Weldon's approach, Granville, who imagined that Fairfax with his whole army was upon him, raiſed the ſiege, and allowed this pertinacious town, now half taken and half burned, to receive relief: But the royaliſts, being reinforced with 3000 horſe under Goring, again advanced to Taunton, and ſhut up Weldon, with his ſmall army, in that ruinous place [m].

The king having effected his purpoſe with regard to Cheſter, returned ſouthwards; and, in his way, ſat down

[l] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 18, 19, &c.

[m] Ibid. p. 28.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

before Leiceſter, a garriſon of the parliament's. Having made a breach in the wall, he ſtormed the town on all ſides; and, after a furious aſſault, the ſoldiers entered ſword in hand, and committed all thoſe diſorders, to which their natural violence, eſpecially when enflamed by reſiſtance, is ſo much addicted [n]. A great booty was taken and diſtributed among them: Fifteen hundred priſoners fell into the king's hands. This ſucceſs, which ſtruck a great terror into the parliamentary party, determined Fairfax to leave Oxford, which he was beginning to approach; and he marched towards the king, with an intention of offering him battle. The king was advancing towards Oxford, in order to raiſe the ſiege, which, he apprehended, was now begun; and both armies, ere they were aware, had advanced within ſix miles of each other. A council of war was called by the king, in order to deliberate concerning the meaſures, which he ſhould now purſue. On the one hand, it ſeemed more prudent to delay the combat; becauſe Gerard, who lay in Wales with 3000 men, might be enabled, in a little time, to join the army; and Goring, it was hoped, would ſoon be maſter of Taunton, and having put the weſt in full ſecurity, would then unite his forces to thoſe of the king, and give him an inconteſtible ſuperiority over the enemy. On the other hand, prince Rupert, whoſe boiling ardour ſtill puſhed him on to battle, excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full; and urged the many difficulties, under which the royaliſts laboured, and from which nothing but a victory could relieve them: The reſolution was taken to give battle to Fairfax; and the royal army immediately advanced upon him.

Battle of Naſeby.

AT Naſeby was fought, with forces nearly equal, this deciſive and well diſputed action, between the king and

[n] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 652.

parliament.

parliament. The main body of the royaliſts was commanded by the king himſelf: The right wing, by prince Rupert; the left, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, ſeconded by Skippon, placed himſelf in the main body of the oppoſite army: Cromwel, in the right wing: Ireton, Cromwel's ſon-in-law, in the left. The charge was begun, with his uſual celerity and uſual ſucceſs, by prince Rupert. Though Ireton made ſtout reſiſtance, and even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, ſtill maintained the combat, till he was taken priſoner; yet was that whole wing broken, and purſued with precipitate fury by Rupert: He was even ſo inconſiderate as to loſe time in ſummoning and attacking the artillery of the parliament, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. The king led on his main body, and diſplayed, in this action, all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valour of a ſtout ſoldier [o]. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well ſupported that reputation, which they had acquired. Skippon, being dangerouſly wounded, was deſired by Fairfax to leave the field; but declared that he would remain there as long as one man maintained his ground [p]. The infantry of the parliament was broken, and preſſed upon by the king; till Fairfax, with great preſence of mind, brought up the reſerve and renewed the combat. Mean while, Cromwel, having led on his troops to the attack of Langdale, overbore the force of the royaliſts, and by his prudence improved that advantage, which he had gained by his valour. Having purſued the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached ſome troops to prevent their rallying; he turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmoſt confuſion. One regiment alone preſerved its order unbroken, though twice deſperately aſſailed by Fairfax: And that general, excited by

1645.

o Whitlocke, p. 146.

p Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 43. Whitlocke, p. 145.

ſo

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

so steddy a resistance, ordered Doyley, the captain of his life-guard, to give them a third charge in front, while he himself attacked them in rear. The regiment was broken. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an ensign, and, having seized the colours, gave them to a soldier to keep for him. The soldier, afterwards boasting that he had won this spoil, was reproved by Doyley, who had seen the action; *Let him retain that honour*, said Fairfax, *I have to-day acquired enough beside* [q].

PRINCE RUPERT, sensible too late of his error, left the fruitless attack on the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, whose infantry was now totally discomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, *One charge more, and we recover the day* [r]. But the disadvantages, under which they laboured, were too evident; and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy [s]. The slain, on the side of the parliament, exceeded those on the side of the king: They lost a thousand men; he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax made 500 officers prisoners, and 4000 private men; took all the king's artillery and ammunition; and totally dissipated his infantry: So that scarce any victory could be more complete, than that which he obtained.

AMONG the other spoils, was seized the king's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be published [t]. They chose, no doubt, such of them as they thought would reflect dishonour on him: Yet upon the whole, the letters are written with delicacy and tenderness, and give an advantageous idea both of the king's genius and morals. A mighty fondness, it is true, and attachment, he

[q] Whitlocke, p. 145.
[r] Rush. vol. vii. p. 44.
[s] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 656, 657. Walker, p. 130, 131.
[t] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 658.

expresses

expreſſes to his conſort, and often profeſſes that he never would embrace any meaſures, which ſhe diſapproved: But ſuch declarations of civility and confidence are not always to be taken in a full literal ſenſe. And ſo legitimate an affection, avowed by the laws of God and man, may, perhaps, be excuſable towards a woman of beauty and ſpirit, even though ſhe was a papiſt [u]. CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

THE Athenians, having intercepted a letter written by their enemy, Philip of Macedon, to his wife, Olympia; ſo far from being moved by a curioſity of prying into the ſecrets of that relation, immediately ſent the letter to the queen unopened. Philip was not their ſovereign; nor were they enflamed with that violent animoſity againſt him, which attends all civil commotions.

AFTER the battle, the king retreated with that body of horſe, which remained entire, firſt to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained ſome time in Wales, from the vain hope of raiſing a body of infantry in thoſe harraſſed and exhauſted quarters. Fairfax, having firſt retaken Leiceſter, which was ſurrendered upon articles, began to deliberate concerning his future enterprizes. A letter was brought him, written by Goring to the king, and unfortunately entruſted to a ſpy of Fairfax. Goring informed the king, that, in three weeks time, he hoped to be maſter of Taunton; after which he would join his majeſty with all the forces in the weſt; and entreated 17th June.

[u] Hearne has publiſhed the following extract from a manuſcript work of Sir Simon D'Ewes, who was no mean man in the parliamentary party, "On Thurſday the 30th and laſt day of this inſtant June 1625, I went to "Whitehall, purpoſely to ſee the queen, which I did fully all the time ſhe "ſat at dinner. I perceiv'd her to be a moſt abſolute delicate lady, after I "had exactly ſurvey'd all the features of her face, much enliven'd by her "radiant and ſparkling black eyes. Beſides, her deportment among her "women was ſo ſweet and humble, and her ſpeech and looks to her other "ſervants ſo mild and gracious, as I could not abſtain from divers deep "fetched ſighs, to conſider, that ſhe wanted the knowledge of the true reli-"gion." See Preface to the Chronicle of Dunſtable, p. 64.

him,

CHAP. LVIII.

1645. him, in the mean while, to avoid coming to any general action. This letter, which, had it been safely delivered, had probably prevented the battle of Naseby, served now to direct the operations of Fairfax [w]. After leaving a body of 3000 men to Pointz and Rossiter, with orders to attend the king's motions, he marched immediately to the west, with a view of saving Taunton, and suppressing the only considerable force, which now remained to the royalists.

In the beginning of the campaign, Charles, apprehensive of the event, had sent the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, to the west, with the title of general, and had given orders, if he was pressed by the enemy, that he should make his escape into a foreign country, and save one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himself into Bristol, with an intention of defending that important city. Goring commanded the army before Taunton.

10th July. On Fairfax's approach, the siege of Taunton was raised; and the royalists retired to Lamport, an open town in the county of Somerset. Fairfax attacked them in that post, beat them from it, killed about 300 men, and took 1400 prisoners [x]. After this advantage, he sat down before Bridgewater, a town esteemed strong, and of great consequence in that country. When he had entered the outer town by storm, Windham, the governor, who had retired into the inner, immediately capitulated, and

23d July. delivered up the place to Fairfax. The garrison, to the number of 2600 men, were made prisoners of war.

Fairfax, having next taken Bath and Sherborne, resolved to sit down before Bristol, and made great preparations for an enterprize, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of prince Rupert, the governor, was deemed of the last importance. But, so

[w] Rush. vol. vii. p. 49. [x] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 55.

precarious

precarious in most men is this quality of military courage! a poorer defence was not made by any town, during the whole war: And the general expectations were here extremely disappointed. No sooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by storm, than the prince capitulated, and surrendered the city to Fairfax [y]. A few days before, he had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to defend the place for four months, if no mutiny obliged him to surrender it. Charles, who was forming schemes, and collecting forces, for the relief of Bristol, was astonished at so unexpected an event, which was little less fatal to his party than the defeat at Naseby [z]. Full of indignation, he instantly recalled all prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea [a].

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

11th Sept. Surrender of Bristol.

The king's affairs now went fast to ruin in all quarters. The Scots, having made themselves masters of Carlisle [b], after an obstinate siege, marched southwards, and laid siege to Hereford; but were obliged to raise it on the king's approach: And this was the last glimpse of success, which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was a-new besieged by the parliamentary forces under colonel Jones; Pointz attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle. While the fight was continued with great obstinacy, and victory seemed to incline to the royalists; Jones fell upon them from the other side, and put them to rout, with the loss of 600 slain and 1000 prisoners [c]. The king, with the remains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter season.

24th Sept.

[y] Rush. vol. vii. p. 83. [z] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 690. Walker, p. 137. [a] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 695. [b] 28th of June. [c] Rush. vol. vii. p. 117.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645. THE news, which he received from all ſides, were no leſs fatal than thoſe events, which paſſed, where he himſelf was preſent. Fairfax and Cromwel, after the ſurrender of Briſtol, having divided their forces, the former marched weſtwards, in order to complete the conqueſt of Devonſhire and Cornwal; the latter attacked the king's garriſons which lay to the eaſt of Briſtol. The Devizes were ſurrendered to Cromwel; Berkeley caſtle was taken by ſtorm; Wincheſter capitulated; Baſing-houſe was entered ſword in hand: And all theſe middle counties of England were, in a little time, reduced to obedience under the parliament.

1646. The weſt conquered by Fairfax. THE ſame rapid and uninterrupted ſucceſs attended Fairfax. The parliamentary forces, elevated by paſt victories, governed by the moſt rigid diſcipline, met with no equal oppoſition from troops, diſmayed by repeated defeats, and corrupted by licentious manners. After beating up the quarters of the royaliſts at Bovey-Tracy,

18th Jan. Fairfax ſat down before Dartmouth, and in a few days entered it by ſtorm. Poudram caſtle being taken by him, and Exeter blockaded on all ſides; Hopton, a man of merit, who now commanded the royaliſts, having advanced to the relief of that town with an army of 8000 men, met with the parliamentary army at Torrington;

19th Feb. where he was defeated, all his foot diſperſed, and he himſelf with his horſe obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax followed him, and vigorouſly purſued the victory. Having incloſed the royaliſts at Truro, he forced the whole army, conſiſting of 5000 men, chiefly cavalry, to ſurrender upon terms. The ſoldiers delivering up their horſes and arms, were allowed to diſband, and received twenty ſhillings a-piece, to carry them to their own houſes. Such of the officers, as deſired it, had paſſes to retire beyond ſea: The others, having promiſed never more

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

more to bear arms, payed compoſitions to the parliament [d], and procured their pardon [e]. And thus Fairfax, after taking Exeter, which completed the conqueſt of the weſt, marched, with his victorious army, to the centre of the kingdom, and fixed his camp at Newbury. The prince of Wales, in purſuance of the king's orders, retired to Scilly, thence to Jerſey; whence he went to Paris; where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, at the time the earl of Eſſex conducted the parliamentary army to the weſt.

In the other parts of England, Hereford was taken by ſurprize: Cheſter ſurrendered: Lord Digby, who had attempted, with 1200 horſe, to break into Scotland and join Montroſe, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkſhire, by colonel Copley; his whole force was diſperſed; and he himſelf was obliged to fly, firſt to the iſle of Man, thence to Ireland. News too arrived that Montroſe himſelf, after ſome more ſucceſſes, was at laſt routed; and this only remaining hope of the royal party finally extinguiſhed.

When Montroſe deſcended into the ſouthern counties, the covenanters, aſſembling their whole force, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle, but without ſucceſs, at Kilſyth [f]. This was the moſt complete victory that Montroſe ever obtained. The royaliſts put to ſword ſix thouſand of their enemies, and left the covenanters no remains of any army in Scotland. The whole kingdom was ſhaken with theſe repeated ſucceſſes of Montroſe; and many noblemen, who ſecretly favoured the royal cauſe, now declared openly for it, when they ſaw a force able to ſupport them. The marqueſs of

[d] Theſe compoſitions were different, according to the demerits of the perſon: But by a vote of the houſe they could not be under two years rent of the delinquent's eſtate. Journ. 11th of Auguſt 1648. Whitlocke, p. 160.

[e] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 108. [f] 15th Auguſt, 1645.

CHAP. LVIII.

1646.

Douglaſs, the earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, flocked to the royal ſtandard. Edinburgh opened its gates, and gave liberty to all the priſoners, there detained by the covenanters. Among the reſt, was lord Ogilvy, ſon of Airly, whoſe family had contributed extremely to the victory, gained at Kilſyth [g].

DAVID LESLY was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his diſtreſſed party in Scotland. Montroſe advanced ſtill farther to the ſouth, allured by vain hopes, both of rouzing to arms the earls of Hume, Traquaire, and Roxborough, who had promiſed to join him; and of obtaining from England ſome ſupply of cavalry, in which he was deficient. By the negligence of his ſcouts, Leſly, at Philip-haugh in the Forreſt, ſurprized his army, much diminiſhed in numbers, from the deſertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to cuſtom, in order to ſecure their plunder. After a ſharp conflict, where Montroſe exerted great valour, his forces were routed by Leſly's cavalry [h]: And he himſelf was obliged to fly with his broken forces into the mountains; where he again prepared himſelf for new battles and new enterprizes [i].

Defeat of Montroſe.

THE covenanters uſed the victory with rigour. Their priſoners, Sir Robert Spotiſwood, ſecretary of ſtate, and ſon to the late primate, Sir Philip Niſbet, Sir William Rollo, colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthry, ſon of the biſhop of Murray, William Murray, ſon of the earl of Tullibardine, were condemned and executed. The ſole crime, imputed to the ſecretary, was his delivering to Montroſe the king's commiſſion to be captain-general of Scotland. Lord Ogilvy, who was again taken priſoner, would have undergone the ſame fate, had not

[g] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 230, 231. Wiſhart, cap. 13.
[h] 13th of Sept. 1645. [i] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 231.

his

his ſiſter found means to procure his eſcape, by changing cloaths with him. For this inſtance of courage and dexterity, ſhe met with harſh uſage. The clergy ſolicited the parliament, that more royaliſts might be executed; but could not obtain their requeſt [k]. CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

AFTER all theſe repeated diſaſters, which every where befel the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exerciſe her rigour. Lord Aſtley with a ſmall army of 3000 men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Oxford, in order to join the king, was met at Stowe by colonel Morgan, and entirely defeated; himſelf being taken priſoner. "You have done your work," ſaid Aſtley to the parliamentary officers; "and may now "go to play, unleſs you chooſe to fall out among your-"ſelves [l]." 22d March.

THE condition of the king, during this whole winter, was, to the laſt degree, diſaſtrous and melancholy. As the dread of ills is commonly more oppreſſive than their real preſence, perhaps in no period of his life was he more juſtly the object of compaſſion. His vigor of mind, which, though it ſometimes failed him in acting, never deſerted him in his ſufferings, was what alone ſupported him; and he was determined, as he wrote to lord Digby, if he could not live as a king to die like a gentleman; nor ſhould any of his friends, he ſaid, ever have reaſon to bluſh for the prince, whom they had ſo unfortunately ſerved [m]. The murmurs of diſcontented officers, on the one hand, harraſſed their unhappy ſovereign; while they over-rated thoſe ſervices and ſufferings, which, they now

[k] Guthry's Memoirs. Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 232. [l] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 141. It was the ſame Aſtley, who, before he charged at the battle of Edgehill, made this ſhort prayer, *O Lord! thou knoweſt how buſy I muſt be this day. If I forget thee, do not thou forget me.* And with that roſe up, and cry'd, *March on, boys!* Warwick, p. 229. There were certainly much longer prayers ſaid in the parliamentary army; but I doubt, if there was ſo good a one. [m] Carte's Ormond, vol. iii. N°. 433.

CHAP. LVIII.

1646.

saw, must, for ever, go unrewarded [n]. The affectionate duty, on the other hand, of his more generous friends, who respected his misfortunes and his virtues, as much as his dignity, wrung his heart with new sorrow; when he reflected, that such disinterested attachment would so soon be exposed to the rigour of his implacable enemies. Repeated attempts, which he made for a peaceful and equitable accommodation with the parliament, served to no purpose, but to convince them, that the victory was entirely in their hands. They deigned not to make the least reply to several of his messages, in which he desired a passport for commissioners [o]. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him, that they were preparing bills for him; and his passing them would be the best pledge of his inclination towards peace: In other words, he must yield at discretion [p]. He desired a personal treaty, and offered to come to London, upon receiving a safe conduct for himself and his attendants: They absolutely refused him admittance, and issued orders for the guarding, that is, the seizing of his person, in case he should attempt to visit them [q]. A new incident, which happened in Ireland, served to enflame the minds of men, and to encrease those calumnies, with which his enemies had so much loaded him, and which he ever regarded as the most grievous part of his misfortunes.

After the cessation with the Irish rebels, the king was desirous of concluding a final peace with them, and obtaining their assistance in England: And he gave authority to Ormond, lord lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all the penal laws, enacted against catholics; together with the suspension of Poinings' statute,

[n] Walker, p. 147.
[o] Rush. vol. vii. p. 215, &c.
[p] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 217, 219. Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 744.
[q] Rush. vol. vii. p. 249. Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 741.

with

with regard to some particular bills, which should be agreed on. Lord Herbert, created earl of Glamorgan, (though his patent had not yet passed the seals) having occasion for his private affairs to go to Ireland, the king considered, that this nobleman, being a catholic and allied to the best Irish families, might be of service: He also foresaw, that farther concessions with regard to religion might probably be demanded by the bigoted Irish; and that as these concessions, however necessary, would give great scandal to the protestant zealots in his three kingdoms, it would be requisite, both to conceal them during some time, and to preserve Ormond's character, by giving privately authority to Glamorgan to conclude and sign these articles. But as he had a better opinion of Glamorgan's zeal and affection for his service, than of his capacity, he enjoined him to communicate all his measures to Ormond; and though the final conclusion of the treaty must be executed only in Glamorgan's own name, he was required to be directed, in the steps towards it, by the opinion of the lord lieutenant. Glamorgan, bigoted to his religion, and passionate for the king's service, but guided in these pursuits by no manner of judgment or discretion, secretly, of himself, without any communication with Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, and agreed in the king's name, that the Irish should enjoy all the churches, of which they had ever been in possession, since the commencement of their insurrection; on condition that they should assist the king in England with a body of ten thousand men. This transaction was discovered by accident. The titular archbishop of Tuam being killed by a sally of the garrison of Sligo, the articles of the treaty were found among his baggage, and were immediately published every where, and copies of them sent over to the

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

Engliſh parliament [r]. The lord lieutenant and lord Digby, foreſeeing the clamour which would be raiſed againſt the king, committed Glamorgan to priſon, charged him with treaſon for his temerity, and maintained, that he had acted altogether without any authority from his majeſty. The Engliſh parliament however neglected not ſo favourable an opportunity of reviving the old clamour with regard to the king's favour of popery, and accuſed him of delivering over, in a manner, the whole kingdom of Ireland to that hated ſect. The king told them, "That the earl of Glamorgan having made an offer "unto him to raiſe forces in the kingdom of Ireland, "and to conduct them into England for his majeſty's ſer- "vice, had a commiſſion to that purpoſe, and to that "purpoſe only, and that he had no commiſſion at all to "treat of any thing elſe, without the privity and direc- "tion of the lord lieutenant, much leſs to capitulate "any thing concerning religion, or any property belong- "ing either to church or laity [s]." Though this declaration ſeems agreeable to truth, it gave no ſatisfaction to the parliament; and ſome hiſtorians, even at preſent, when the ancient bigotry is ſomewhat abated, are deſirous of repreſenting this very innocent tranſaction, in which the king was engaged by the moſt violent neceſſity, as a ſtain on the memory of that unfortunate prince [t].

HAVING loſt all hope of prevailing over the rigour of the parliament, either by arms or by treaty, the only reſource, which remained to the king, was derived from the inteſtine diſſentions, which ran very high among his enemies. Preſbyterians and independents, even before their victory was fully compleated, fell into conteſts about

[r] Riſh. vol. vii. p. 239. [s] Birch, p. 119.
[t] See note [B] at the end of the volume.

the

the diviſion of the ſpoil; and their religious as well as civil diſputes agitated the whole kingdom. CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

THE parliament, though they had early aboliſhed epiſcopal authority, had not, during ſo long a time, ſubſtituted any other ſpiritual government in its place; and their committees of religion had hitherto aſſumed the whole eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction: But they now eſtabliſhed, by an ordinance, the preſbyterian model in all its forms of *congregational*, *claſſical*, *provincial*, and *national* aſſemblies. All the inhabitants of each pariſh were ordered to meet and chuſe elders, on whom, together with the miniſter, was beſtowed the entire direction of all ſpiritual concerns within the congregation. A number of neighbouring pariſhes, commonly between twelve and twenty, formed a claſſis; and the court, which governed this diviſion, was compoſed of all the miniſters, together with two, three, or four elders choſen from each pariſh. The provincial aſſembly retained an inſpection over ſeveral neighbouring claſſes, and was compoſed entirely of clergymen: The national aſſembly was conſtituted in the ſame manner; and its authority extended over the whole kingdom. It is probable, that the tyranny, exerciſed by the Scottiſh clergy, had given warning not to allow laymen a place in the provincial or national aſſemblies; leſt the nobility and more conſiderable gentry, ſoliciting a ſeat in theſe great eccleſiaſtical courts, ſhould beſtow a conſideration upon them, and render them, in the eyes of the multitude, a rival to the parliament. In the inferior courts, the mixture of the laity might ſerve rather to temper the uſual zeal of the clergy[u]. Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

BUT though the preſbyterians, by the eſtabliſhment of parity among the eccleſiaſtics, were ſo far gratified, they were denied ſatisfaction in ſeveral other points, on which

[u] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 224.

CHAP. LVIII.

1646.

they were extremely intent. The assembly of divines had voted presbytery to be of divine right: The parliament refused their assent to that decision [w]. Selden, Whitlocke, and other political reasoners, assisted by the independents, had prevailed in this important deliberation. They thought, that, had the bigoted religionists been able to get their heavenly charter recognized, the presbyters would soon become more dangerous to the magistrate than had ever been the prelatical clergy. These latter, while they claimed to themselves a divine right, admitted of a like origin to civil authority: The former, challenging to their own order a celestial pedigree, derived the legislative power from a source no more dignified than the voluntary association of the people.

UNDER colour of keeping the sacraments from profanation, the clergy of all christian sects had assumed, what they call the power of the keys, or the right of fulminating excommunication. The example of Scotland was a sufficient lesson for the parliament to use precaution in guarding against so severe a tyranny. They determined, by a general ordinance, all the cases in which excommunication could be used. They allowed of appeals to parliament from all ecclesiastical courts. And they appointed commissioners in every province to judge of such cases as fell not within their general ordinance [x]. So much civil authority, intermixed with the ecclesiastical, gave disgust to all the zealots.

BUT nothing was attended with more universal scandal than the propensity of many in the parliament towards a toleration of the protestant sectaries. The presbyterians exclaimed, that this indulgence made the church of Christ resemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beasts. They insisted, that the least of Christ's

[w] Whitlocke, p. 106. Rush. vol. vii. p. 260, 261.
[x] Rush. vol. vii. p. 210.

truths was ſuperior to all political conſiderations [y]. They maintained the eternal obligation impoſed by the covenant to extirpate hereſy and ſchiſm. And they menaced all their opponents with the ſame rigid perſecution, under which they themſelves had groaned, when held in ſubjection by the hierarchy.

So great prudence and reſerve, in ſuch material points, does great honour to the parliament; and proves, that, notwithſtanding the prevalence of bigotry and fanaticiſm, there were many members, who had more enlarged views, and paid regard to the civil intereſts of ſociety. Theſe men, uniting themſelves to the enthuſiaſts, whoſe genius is naturally averſe to clerical uſurpations, exerciſed ſo jealous an authority over the aſſembly of divines, that they allowed them nothing but the liberty of tendering advice, and would not entruſt them even with the power of electing their own chairman or his ſubſtitute, or of ſupplying the vacancies of their own members.

While theſe diſputes were canvaſſed by theologians, who engaged in their ſpiritual conteſts every order of the ſtate; the king, though he entertained hopes of reaping advantage from thoſe diviſions, was much at a loſs which ſide it would be moſt for his intereſt to comply with. The preſbyterians were, by their principles, the leaſt averſe to regal authority; but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of prelacy: The independents were reſolute to lay the foundation of a republican government; but as they pretended not to erect themſelves into a national church, it might be hoped, that, if gratified with a toleration, they would admit the re-eſtabliſhment of the hierarchy. So great attachment had the king to epiſcopal juriſdiction, that he was ever inclined to put it in balance even with his own power and kingly office.

[y] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 308.

CHAP. LVIII.

1646.

But whatever advantage he might propose to reap from the divisions in the parliamentary party, he was apprehensive, lest it should come too late, to save him from that destruction, with which he was instantly threatened. Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which must infallibly fall into his hands. To be taken captive, and led in triumph by his insolent enemies, was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult, if not violence, was to be dreaded, from that enthusiastic soldiery, who hated his person, and despised his dignity. In this desperate extremity, he embraced a measure, which, in any other situation, might lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion.

Montreville, the French minister, interested for the king more by the natural sentiments of humanity, than any instructions from his court, which seemed rather to favour the parliament, had solicited the Scottish generals and commissioners, to give protection to their distressed sovereign; and having received many general professions and promises, he had always transmitted these, perhaps with some exaggeration, to the king. From his suggestions, Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scotch army, which at that time lay before Newark [z]. He considered, that the Scottish nation had been fully gratified in all their demands; and having already, in their own country, annihilated both episcopacy and regal authority, had no farther concessions to exact from him. In all disputes, which had passed about settling the terms of peace, the Scots, he heard, had still adhered to the milder side, and had endeavoured to soften the rigour of the English parliament. Great disgusts also, on other accounts, had taken place between the nations; and the Scots found,

[z] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 750. vol. v. p. 16.

that,

CHAP. LVIII.

that, in proportion as their assistance became less necessary, less value was put upon them. The progress of the independents gave them great alarm; and they were scandalized to hear their beloved covenant spoken of, every day, with less regard and reverence. The refusal of a divine right to presbytery, and the infringing of ecclesiastical discipline from political considerations, were, to them, the subject of much offence: And the king hoped, that, in their present dispositon, the sight of their native prince, flying to them in this extremity of distress, would rouze every spark of generosity in their bosom, and procure him their favour and protection. 1646.

That he might the better conceal his intentions, orders were given at every gate in Oxford, for allowing three persons to pass; and in the night, the king, accompanied by none but Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at that gate, which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himself Ashburnham's servant. He passed through Henley, St. Albans, and came so near London as Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained thoughts of entering into that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. But at last, after passing through many cross roads, he arrived at the Scotch camp before Newark [a]. The parliament, hearing of his escape from Oxford, issued rigorous orders, and threatened with instant death, whoever should harbour or conceal him [b]. 5th May.

The Scotch generals and commissioners affected great surprize on the appearance of the king: And though they payed him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, they instantly put a guard upon him, under colour of protection; and made him in reality a prisoner. They informed the English parliament of this unexpected incident, and assured them, that they had entered into no King goes to the Scotch camp at Newark.

[a] Rush. vol. vii. p. 267. [b] Whitlocke, p. 209.

private

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

private treaty with the king. They applied to him for orders to Bellasis, governor of Newark, to surrender that town, now reduced to extremity; and the orders were instantly obeyed. And hearing, that the parliament laid claim to the entire disposal of the king's person, and that the English army was making some motions towards them; they thought proper to retire northwards, and to fix their camp at Newcastle [c].

This measure was very grateful to the king; and he began to entertain hopes of protection from the Scots. He was particularly attentive to the behaviour of their preachers, on whom all depended. It was the mode of that age to make the pulpit the scene of news; and on every great event the whole scripture was ransacked by the clergy, for passages applicable to the present occasion. The first minister who preached before the king, chose these words for his text. "And behold all the men of "Israel came to the king, and said unto him, Why have "our brethren the men of Judah, stolen thee away, and "have brought the king and his household, and all "David's men with him, over Jordan? And all the "men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because "the king is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye "angry for this matter? Have we eaten at all of the "king's cost? or hath he given us any gift? And the "men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, "We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more "right in David than ye: Why then did ye despise us, "that our advice should not be first had in bringing back "our king? And the words of the men of Judah were "fiercer than the words of the men of Israel [d]." But the king soon found, that the happiness chiefly of the allusion had tempted the preacher to employ this text,

[c] Rush. vol. viii. p. 271. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 23.

[d] 2 Sam. chap. xix, 41, 42, and 43 verses. See Clarendon, vol. v. p. 23, 24.

and

and that the covenanting zealots were no wise pacified towards him. Another preacher, after reproaching him to his face, with his misgovernment, ordered this psalm to be sung; CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself
Thy wicked deeds to praise:

The king stood up, and called for that psalm which begins with these words,

Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray;
For men would me devour:

The good-natured audience, in pity to fallen majesty, showed, for once, greater deference to the king than to the minister, and sung the psalm, which the former had called for [e].

CHARLES had very little reason to be pleased with his situation. He not only found himself a prisoner, very narrowly guarded: All his friends were kept at a distance; and no intercourse, either by letters or conversation, was allowed him with any one, on whom he could depend, or who was suspected of any attachment towards him. The Scotch generals would enter into no confidence with him; and still treated him with distant ceremony and feigned respect. And every proposal, which they made him, tended farther to his abasement and to his ruin [f].

THEY required him to issue orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, commanding their surrender to the parliament: And the king, sensible that their resistance was to very little purpose, willingly complied. The terms, given to most of them, were honourable; and Fairfax, as far as it lay in his power, was very exact in observing them. Far from allowing violence; he would

[e] Whitlocke, p. 234. [f] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 30.

not

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

not even permit insults or triumph over the unfortunate royalists; and by his generous humanity, so cruel a civil war was ended, in appearance, very calmly, between the parties.

ORMOND having received like orders, delivered Dublin, and other forts, into the hands of the parliamentary officers. Montrose also, after having experienced still more variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms, and retired out of the kingdom.

THE marquess of Worcester, a man past eighty-four, was the last in England that submitted to the authority of the parliament. He defended Raglan castle to extremity; and opened not its gates till the middle of August. Four years, a few days excepted, were now elapsed, since the king first erected his standard at Nottingham [g]. So long had the British nations, by civil and religious quarrels, been occupied in shedding their own blood, and laying waste their native country.

THE parliament and the Scots laid their propositions before the king. They were such as a captive, entirely at mercy, could expect from the most inexorable victor: Yet were they little worse than what were insisted on before the battle of Naseby. The power of the sword, instead of ten, which the king now offered, was demanded for twenty years, together with a right to levy whatever money the parliament should think proper for the support of their armies. The other conditions were, in the main, the same with those which had formerly been offered to the king [h].

CHARLES said, that propositions, which introduced such important innovations in the constitution, demanded time for deliberation: The commissioners replied, that he must give his answer in ten days [i]. He desired to reason about

[g] Rush. vol. vi. p. 293. [h] Ibid. p. 309. [i] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 319.

the

the meaning and import of the terms: They informed him, that they had no power of debate; and required peremptorily his consent or refusal. He requested a personal treaty with the parliament: They threatened, that, if he delayed compliance, the parliament would, by their own authority, settle the nation. CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

WHAT the parliament was most intent upon, was not their treaty with the king, to whom they paid little regard; but that with the Scots. Two important points remained to be settled with that nation; their delivery of the king, and the estimation of their arrears.

THE Scots might pretend, that, as Charles was king of Scotland as well as of England, they were intitled to an equal vote in the disposal of his person: And that, in such a case, where the titles are equal, and the subject indivisible, the preference was due to the present possessor. The English maintained, that, the king, being in England, was comprehended within the jurisdiction of that kingdom, and could not be disposed of by any foreign nation. A delicate question this, and what surely could not be decided by precedent; since such a situation is not, any where, to be found in history [k].

As the Scots concurred with the English, in imposing such severe conditions on the king, that, notwithstanding his unfortunate situation, he still refused to accept of them; it is certain, that they did not desire his freedom: Nor could they ever intend to join lenity and rigor together, in so inconsistent a manner. Before the settlement of terms, the administration must be possessed entirely by the parliaments of both kingdoms; and how incompatible that scheme with the liberty of the king, is easily imagined. To carry him a prisoner into Scotland, where few forces could be supported to guard him, was a measure so full of inconvenience and danger, that, even if the English

[k] Rush. vol. vii. p. 339.

had

CHAP. LVIII.

1646.

had consented to it, it must have appeared to the Scotch nation altogether uneligible: And how could such a plan be supported in opposition to England, possessed of such numerous and victorious armies, which were, at that time, or at least, seemed to be, in entire union with the parliament? The only expedient, it is obvious, which the Scots could embrace, if they scrupled wholly to abandon the king, was immediately to return, fully and cordially, to their allegiance; and, uniting themselves with the royalists in both kingdoms, endeavour, by force of arms, to reduce the English parliament to more moderate conditions: But besides that this measure was full of extreme hazard; what was it but instantly to combine with their old enemies against their old friends; and in a fit of romantic generosity, overturn what, with so much expence of blood and treasure, they had, during the course of so many years, been so carefully erecting?

BUT, though all these reflections occurred to the Scottish commissioners, they resolved to prolong the dispute, and to keep the king as a pledge for those arrears, which they claimed from England, and which they were not likely, in the present disposition of that nation, to obtain by any other expedient. The sum, by their account, amounted to near two millions: For they had received very little regular pay, since they had entered England. And though the contributions, which they had levied, as well as the price of their living at free quarters, must be deducted; yet still the sum, which they insisted on, was very considerable. After many discussions, it was, at last, agreed, that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of 400,000 pounds, one half to be paid instantly, another at two subsequent payments [1].

GREAT pains were taken by the Scots (and the English complied with their pretended delicacy) to make this

[1] Rush. vol. vii. p. 326. Parl. Hist. vol. xv. p. 236.

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

eſtimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different tranſaction from that for the delivery of the king's perſon: But common ſenſe requires, that they ſhould be regarded as one and the ſame. The Engliſh, it is evident, had they not been previouſly aſſured of receiving the king, would never have parted with ſo conſiderable a ſum; and, while they weakened themſelves, by the ſame meaſure have ſtrengthened a people, with whom they muſt afterwards have ſo material an intereſt to diſcuſs.

THUS the Scottiſh nation underwent, and ſtill undergo (for ſuch grievous ſtains are not eaſily wiped off) the reproach of ſelling their king, and betraying their prince for money. In vain, did they maintain, that this money was, on account of former ſervices, undoubtedly their due; that in their preſent ſituation, no other meaſure, without the utmoſt indiſcretion, or even their apparent ruin, could be embraced; and that, though they delivered their king into the hands of his open enemies, they were themſelves as much his open enemies as thoſe to whom they ſurrendered him, and their common hatred againſt him had long united the two parties in ſtrict alliance with each other. They were ſtill anſwered, that they made uſe of this ſcandalous expedient for obtaining their wages; and that, after taking arms, without any provocation, againſt their ſovereign, who had ever loved and cheriſhed them, they had deſervedly fallen into a ſituation, from which they could not extricate themſelves, without either infamy or imprudence.

THE infamy of this bargain had ſuch an influence on the Scotch parliament, that they once voted, that the king ſhould be protected, and his liberty inſiſted on. But the general aſſembly interpoſed, and pronounced, that, as he had refuſed to take the covenant, which was preſſed on him, it became not the godly to concern themſeves about his fortunes. After this declaration,

CHAP. LVIII.

claration, it behoved the parliament to retract their vote [m].

1646.

INTELLIGENCE concerning the final reſolution of the Scotch nation to ſurrender him, was brought to the king; and he happened, at that very time, to be playing at cheſs [n]. Such command of temper did he enjoy, that he continued his game without interruption; and none of the by-ſtanders could perceive, that the letter, which he peruſed, had brought him news of any conſequence. The Engliſh commiſſioners, who, ſome days after, came to take him under their cuſtody, were admitted to kiſs his hands; and he received them with the ſame grace and chearfulneſs, as if they had travelled on no other errand, but to pay court to him. The old earl of Pembroke in particular, who was one of them, he congratulated on his ſtrength and vigour, that he was ſtill able, during ſuch a ſeaſon, to perform ſo long a journey, in company with ſo many young people.

1647. King delivered up by the Scots.

THE king, being delivered over by the Scots to the Engliſh commiſſioners, was conducted, under a guard, to Holdenby, in the county of Northampton. On his journey, the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curioſity, partly by compaſſion and affection. If any ſtill retained rancour againſt him, in his preſent condition, they paſſed in ſilence; while his well-wiſhers, more generous than prudent, accompanied his march with tears, with acclamations, and with prayers for his ſafety [o]. That ancient ſuperſtition likewiſe, of deſiring the king's touch in ſcrophulous diſtempers, ſeemed to acquire freſh credit among the people, from the general tenderneſs, which began to prevail for this virtuous and unhappy monarch.

[m] Parl. Hiſt. vol. xv. p. 243, 744. [n] Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons. [o] Ludlow, Herbert.

THE

CHAP. LVIII. 1647.

THE commiſſioners rendered his confinement at Holdenby very rigorous; diſmiſſing his ancient ſervants, debarring him from viſits, and cutting off all communication with his friends or family. The parliament, though earneſtly applied to by the king, refuſed to allow his chaplains to attend him; becauſe they had not taken the covenant. The king refuſed to aſſiſt at the ſervice, exerciſed according to the directory; becauſe he had not, as yet, given his conſent to that mode of worſhip [p]. Such religious zeal prevailed on both ſides! And ſuch was the unhappy and diſtracted condition, to which it had reduced the king and people!

DURING the time, that the king remained in the Scottiſh army at Newcaſtle, died the earl of Eſſex, the diſcarded, but ſtill powerful and popular general of the parliament. His death, in this conjuncture, was a public misfortune. Fully ſenſible of the exceſſes, to which affairs had been carried, and of the worſe conſequences, which were ſtill to be apprehended; he had reſolved to conciliate a peace, and to remedy, as far as poſſible, all thoſe ills, to which, from miſtake, rather than any bad intentions, he had himſelf ſo much contributed. The preſbyterian, or the moderate party among the commons, found themſelves conſiderably weakened by his death: And the ſmall remains of authority, which ſtill adhered to the houſe of peers, were, in a manner, wholly extinguiſhed [q].

[p] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 39. Warwick, p. 298. [q] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 43.

CHAP. LIX.

Mutiny of the army---The king ſeized by Joyce---The army march againſt the parliament---The army ſubdue the parliament---The king flies to the iſle of Wight---Second civil war---Invaſion from Scotland---The treaty of Newport---The civil war and invaſion repreſſed---The king ſeized again by the army---The houſe purged---The king's trial---And execution---And character.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

THE dominion of the parliament was of ſhort duration. No ſooner had they ſubdued their ſovereign, than their own ſervants roſe againſt them, and tumbled them from their ſlippery throne. The ſacred boundaries of the laws being once violated, nothing remained to confine the wild projects of zeal and ambition. And every ſucceſſive revolution became a precedent for that which followed it.

IN proportion as the terror of the king's power diminiſhed, the diviſion between independent and preſbyterian became every day more apparent; and the neuters found it, at laſt, requiſite to ſeek ſhelter in one or the other faction. Many new writs were iſſued for elections, in room of members, who had died, or were diſqualified for adhering to the king; yet ſtill the preſbyterians retained the ſuperiority among the commons: And all the peers, except lord Say, were eſteemed of that party. The independents, to whom the inferior ſectaries adhered, predominated in the army: And the troops of the new model were univerſally infected with that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit. To their aſſiſtance did the independent party, among

among the commons, chiefly truſt, in their projects for acquiring the aſcendant over their antagoniſts. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

SOON after the retreat of the Scots, the preſbyterians, ſeeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of diminiſhing the army: And, on pretence of eaſing the public burthens, they levelled a deadly blow at the oppoſite faction. They propoſed to embark a ſtrong detachment, under Skippon and Maſſey, for the ſervice of Ireland: They openly declared their intention of making a great reduction of the remainder [r]. It was even imagined, that another new model of the army was projected, in order to regain to the preſbyterians, that ſuperiority, which they had ſo imprudently loſt by the former [s].

THE army had ſmall inclination to the ſervice of Ireland; a country barbarous, uncultivated, and laid waſte by maſſacres, and civil commotions: They had leſs inclination to diſband, and to renounce that pay, which, having earned it through fatigues and dangers, they now propoſed to enjoy in eaſe and tranquillity. And moſt of the officers, having riſen from the dregs of the people, had no other proſpect, if deprived of their commiſſion, than than of returning to languiſh in their native poverty and obſcurity.

THESE motives of intereſt acquired additional influence, and became more dangerous to the parliament, from the religious ſpirit, by which the army was univerſally animated. Among the generality of men, educated in regular, civilized ſocieties, the ſentiments of ſhame, duty, honour, have conſiderable authority, and ſerve to counterbalance and direct the motives, derived from private advantage: But, by the predominancy of enthuſiaſm among the parliamentary forces, theſe ſalutary

[r] Fourteen thouſand men were only propoſed to be kept up; 6000 horſe, 6000 foot, and 2000 dragoons. Bates.

[s] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 564.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

principles loſt their credit, and were regarded as mere human inventions, yea moral inſtitutions, fitter for heathens than for chriſtians [t]. The ſaint, reſigned over to ſuperior guidance, was at full liberty to gratify all his appetites, diſguiſed under the appearance of pious zeal. And, beſides the ſtrange corruptions engendered by this ſpirit, it eluded and looſened all the ties of morality, and gave entire ſcope, and even ſanction to the ſelfiſhneſs and ambition, which naturally adhere to the human mind.

THE military confeſſors were farther encouraged in diſobedience to ſuperiors, by that ſpiritual pride, to which a miſtaken piety is ſo ſubject. They were not, they ſaid, mere janizaries; mercenary troops inliſted for hire, and to be diſpoſed of at the will of their paymaſters [u]. Religion and liberty were the motives, which had excited them to arms; and they had a ſuperior right to ſee thoſe bleſſings, which they had purchaſed with their blood, enſured to future generations. By the ſame title, that the preſbyterians, in contradiſtinction to the royaliſts, had appropriated to themſelves the epithet of the *godly*, or the *well-affected* [w]; the independents did now, in contradiſtinction to the preſbyterians, aſſume this magnificent appellation, and arrogate all the aſcendant, which naturally belongs to it.

HEARING of parties in the houſe of commons, and being informed, that the minority were friends to the army, the majority enemies; the troops naturally intereſted themſelves in that dangerous diſtinction, and were eager to give the ſuperiority to their partizans. Whatever hardſhips they underwent, though perhaps derived from inevitable neceſſity, were aſcribed to a ſettled deſign of oppreſſing them, and reſented as an effect of the animoſity and malice of their adverſaries.

[t] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 134. [u] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 565.
[w] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 474.

NOTWITH-

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great revenue, which accrued from taxes, aſſeſſments, ſequeſtrations, and compoſitions, conſiderable arrears were due to the army; and many of the private men, as well as officers, had near a twelvemonth's pay ſtill owing them. The army ſuſpected, that this deficiency was purpoſely contrived, in order to oblige them to live at free quarters; and, by rendering them odious to the country, ſerve as a pretence for diſbanding them. When they ſaw ſuch members, as were employed in committees and civil offices, accumulate fortunes, they accuſed them of rapine and public plunder. And, as no plan was pointed out by the commons for the payment of arrears, the ſoldiers dreaded, that, after they ſhould be diſbanded or embarked for Ireland, their enemies, who predominated in the two houſes, would entirely defraud them of their right, and oppreſs them with impunity.

Mutiny of the army.

ON this ground or pretence did the firſt commotions begin in the army. A petition, addreſſed to Fairfax the general, was handed about; deſiring an indemnity, and that ratified by the king, for any illegal actions, of which, during the courſe of the war, the ſoldiers might have been guilty; together with ſatisfaction in arrears, freedom from preſſing, relief of widows and maimed ſoldiers, and pay till diſbanded [x]. The commons, aware of what combuſtible materials the army was compoſed, were alarmed at this intelligence. Such a combination, they knew, if not checked in its firſt appearance, muſt be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, and muſt ſoon exalt the military above the civil authority. Beſides ſummoning ſome officers to anſwer for this attempt, they immediately voted, that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obſtruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to

March 30.

[x] Parl. Hiſt. vol. xv. p. 342.

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

proceed againſt the promoters of it, as enemies to the ſtate, and diſturbers of public peace [y]. This declaration, which may be eſteemed violent, eſpecially as the army had ſome ground for complaint, produced fatal effects. The ſoldiers lamented, that they were deprived of the privileges of Engliſhmen; that they were not allowed ſo much as to repreſent their grievances; that, while petitions from Eſſex and other places were openly encouraged againſt the army, their mouths were ſtopped; and that they, who were the authors of liberty to the nation, were reduced, by a faction in parliament, to the moſt grievous ſervitude.

In this diſpoſition was the army found by Warwic, Dacres, Maſſey, and other commiſſioners; who were ſent to make them propoſals for entering into the ſervice of Ireland [z]. Inſtead of inliſting, the generality objected to the terms; demanded an indemnity; were clamorous for their arrears: And, though they expreſſed no diſſatiſfaction againſt Skippon, who was appointed commander, they diſcovered much ſtronger inclination to ſerve under Fairfax and Cromwel [a]. Some officers, who were of the preſbyterian party, having entered into engagements for this ſervice, could prevail on very few of the ſoldiers to inliſt under them. And, as theſe officers lay all under the grievous reproach of deſerting the army, and betraying the intereſts of their companions; the reſt were farther confirmed in that confederacy, which they had ſecretly formed [b].

To petition and remonſtrate being the moſt cautious way of conducting a confederacy, an application to parliament was ſigned by near 200 officers; in which they made their apology with a very imperious air, aſſerted their right of petitioning, and complained of that impu-

[y] Parl. Hiſt. vol. xv. p. 344.
[z] Ruſh. vol vii. p. 457.
[a] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 458.
[b] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 461, 556.

tation

CHAP. LIX.

tation thrown upon them by the former declaration of the lower house [c]. The private men likewise of some regiments sent a letter to Skippon; in which together with insisting on the same topics, they lament, that designs were formed against them and many of the godly party in the kingdom; and declare, that they could not engage for Ireland, till they were satisfied in their expectations, and had their just desires granted [d]. The army, in a word, felt their power, and resolved to be masters. 1647.

THE parliament too resolved, if possible, to preserve their dominion; but being destitute of power, and not retaining much authority, it was not easy for them to employ any expedient, which could contribute to their purpose. The expedient, which they now made use of, was the worst imaginable. They sent Skippon, Cromwel, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head-quarters at Saffron-Weldon in Essex; and empowered them to make offers to the army, and enquire into the cause of its *distempers*. These very generals, at least the three last, were secretly the authors of all the discontents; and failed not to foment those disorders, which they pretended to appease. By their suggestion, a measure was embraced, which, at once brought matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable. 7th May.

IN opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed. Together with a council of the principal officers, which was appointed after the model of the house of peers; a more free representative of the army was composed, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company [e]. By this means, both the general humour of that time was gratified, intent on plans of imaginary republics; and an easy method contrived for

[c] Rush. vol. vii. p. 468. [d] Idem ibid. p. 474.
[e] Idem ibid. p. 485. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 43.

CHAP. LIX.

conducting underhand, and propagating the ſedition of the army.

1647.

THIS terrible court, when aſſembled; having firſt declared, that they found no *diſtempers* in the army, but many *grievances*, under which it laboured; immediately voted the offers of the parliament unſatisfactory. Eight weeks' pay alone, they ſaid, was promiſed; a ſmall part of fifty-ſix weeks, which they pretended to be their due: No viſible ſecurity was given for the remainder: And having been declared public enemies by the commons, they might hereafter be proſecuted as ſuch, unleſs the declaration were recalled [f]. Before matters came to this height, Cromwel had poſted up to London, on pretence of laying before the parliament the riſing diſcontents of the army.

THE parliament made one vigorous effort more, to try the force of their authority: They voted, that all the troops, which did not engage for Ireland, ſhould inſtantly be diſbanded in their quarters [g]. At the ſame time, the council of the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common intereſts. And while they thus prepared themſelves for oppoſition to the parliament, they ſtruck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour.

3d June. The king ſeized by Joyce.

A PARTY of five hundred horſe appeared at Holdenby, conducted by one Joyce, who had once been a taylor by profeſſion; but was now advanced to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Without being oppoſed by the guard, whoſe affections were all on their ſide; Joyce came into the king's preſence, armed with piſtols, and told him, that he muſt immediately go along with him. *Whither?* ſaid the king. *To the army*; replied Joyce. *By what warrant?* aſked the king. Joyce pointed

[f] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 497, 505. Whitlocke, p. 250.
[g] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 487.

to

to the ſoldiers, whom he brought along; tall, handſome, and well accoutred. *Your warrant*, ſaid Charles ſmiling, *is writ in fair characters, legible without ſpelling* [h]. The parliamentary commiſſioners came into the room: They aſked Joyce, whether he had any orders from the parliament? He ſaid, *No:* From the general? *No:* By what authority he came? He made the ſame reply as to the king: *They would write*, they ſaid, *to the parliament to know their pleaſure. You may do ſo*, replied Joyce; *but in the mean time the king muſt immediately go with me.* Reſiſtance was vain. The king, after protracting the time as long as he could, went into his coach; and was ſafely conducted to the army, who were haſtening to their rendezvous at Triplo-Heath near Cambridge. The parliament, informed of this event by their commiſſioners, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation [i]. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

FAIRFAX himſelf was no leſs ſurprized at the king's arrival. That bold meaſure, executed by Joyce, had never been communicated to the general. The orders were entirely verbal; and no body avowed them. And, while every one affected aſtoniſhment at the enterprize, Cromwel, by whoſe counſel it had been directed, arrived from London, and put an end to their deliberations.

THIS artful and audacious conſpirator had conducted himſelf in the parliament with ſuch profound diſſimulation, with ſuch refined hypocriſy, that he had long deceived thoſe, who, being themſelves very dextrous practitioners in the ſame arts, naturally entertained the more ſuſpicion againſt others. At every intelligence of diſorders in the army, he was moved to the higheſt pitch of grief and of anger. He wept bitterly: He lamented the misfortunes of his country: He adviſed every violent meaſure for ſuppreſſing the mutiny; and by theſe precipi-

[h] Whitlocke, p. 254. Warwick, p. 299. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 47. [i] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 514, 515.

tate

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

tate counſels, at once ſeemed to evince his own ſincerity, and inflamed thoſe diſcontents, of which he intended to make advantage. He obteſted heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him ſo odious in the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmoſt danger; and he had very narrowly eſcaped a conſpiracy, formed to aſſaſſinate him. But information being brought, that the moſt active officers and agitators were entirely his creatures, the parliamentary leaders ſecretly reſolved, that, next day, when he came to the houſe, an accuſation ſhould be entered againſt him, and he ſhould be ſent to the Tower [k]. Cromwel, who, in the conduct of his deſperate enterprizes, frequently approached to the very brink of deſtruction, knew how to make the requiſite turn with proper dexterity and boldneſs. Being informed of this deſign, he haſtened to the camp; where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was inſtantly inveſted with the ſupreme command both of general and army.

FAIRFAX, having neither talents himſelf for cabal, nor penetration to diſcover the cabals of others, had given his confidence entirely to Cromwel; who, by the beſt coloured pretences, and by the appearance of an open ſincerity and a ſcrupulous conſcience, impoſed on the eaſy nature of this brave and virtuous man. The council of officers and the agitators were moved altogether by Cromwel's direction, and conveyed his will to the whole army. By his profound and artful conduct, he had now attained a ſituation, where he could cover his enterprizes from public view; and ſeeming either to obey the commands of his ſuperior officer, or yield to the movements of the ſoldiers, could ſecretly pave the way for his future greatneſs. While the diſorders of the army were yet in their infancy, he kept at a diſtance; leſt his counterfeit averſion

[k] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 46.

might

might throw a damp upon them, or his ſecret encouragement beget ſuſpicion in the parliament. As ſoon as they came to maturity, he openly joined the troops; and in the critical moment, ſtruck that important blow of ſeizing the king's perſon, and depriving the parliament of any reſource by an accommodation with him. Though one vizor fell off, another ſtill remained, to cover his natural countenance. Where delay was requiſite, he could employ the moſt indefatigable patience: Where celerity was neceſſary, he flew to a deciſion. And by thus uniting in his perſon the moſt oppoſite talents, he was enabled to combine the moſt contrary intereſts in a ſubſerviency to his ſecret purpoſes. 1647.

The army march againſt the parliament.

THE parliament, though at preſent defenceleſs, was poſſeſſed of many reſources; and time might eaſily enable them to reſiſt that violence, with which they were threatened. Without farther deliberation, therefore, Cromwel advanced the army upon them, and arrived in a few days at St. Albans.

NOTHING could be more popular, than this hoſtility, which the army commenced againſt the parliament. As much as that aſſembly was once the idol of the nation, as much was it now become the object of general hatred and averſion.

THE ſelf-denying ordinance had no longer been put in execution, than till Eſſex, Mancheſter, Waller, and the other officers of that party, had reſigned their commiſſion: Immediately after, it was laid aſide by tacit conſent; and the members, ſharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in exerciſing acts of oppreſſion on the helpleſs nation. Though the neceſſity of their ſituation might ſerve as an apology for many of their meaſures, the people, not accuſtomed to ſuch a ſpecies of government, were not diſpoſed to make the requiſite allowances.

A SMALL

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

A small supply of 100,000 pounds a year could scarcely be obtained by former kings from the jealous humour of parliaments; and the Engliſh, of all nations in Europe, were the leaſt accuſtomed to taxes: But this parliament, from the commencement of the war, according to ſome computations, had levied, in five years, above forty millions [l]; and yet were loaded with debts and incumbrances, which, during that age, were regarded as prodigious. If theſe computations ſhould be thought much exaggerated, as they probably are [m], the taxes and impoſitions were certainly far higher than in any former ſtate of the Engliſh government; and ſuch popular exaggerations are, at leaſt, a proof of popular diſcontents.

But the diſpoſal of this money was no leſs the object of general complaint againſt the parliament than the levying of it. The ſum of 300,000 pounds they openly took, 'tis affirmed [n], and divided among their own members. The committees, to whom the management of the different branches of revenue was entruſted, never brought in their accounts, and had unlimited power of ſecreting whatever ſums they pleaſed from the public treaſure [o]. Theſe branches were needleſsly multiplied, in order to render the revenue more perplexed, to ſhare the advantages among greater numbers, and to conceal the frauds, of which they were univerſally ſuſpected [p].

The method of keeping accounts, practiſed in the exchequer, was confeſſedly the exacteſt, the moſt ancient,

[l] Clement Walker's hiſtory of the two Juntos, prefixed to his hiſtory of independency, p. 8. This is an author of ſpirit and ingenuity; and being a zealous parliamentarian, his authority is very conſiderable, notwithſtanding the air of ſatire, which prevails in his writings. This computation, however, ſeems much too large; eſpecially as the ſequeſtrations, during the time of war, could not be ſo conſiderable as afterwards.

[m] Yet the ſame ſum preciſely is aſſigned in another book, called Royal Treaſury of England, p. 297. [n] Clement Walker's hiſtory of independency, p. 3, 166. [o] Ibid. p. 8. [p] Id. ibid.

the

the beſt known, and the leaſt liable to fraud. The exchequer was, for that reaſon, aboliſhed, and the revenue put under the management of a committee, who were ſubject to no controul [q]. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

THE exciſe was an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation; and was now extended over proviſions, and the common neceſſaries of life. Near one half of the goods and chattels, and at leaſt one half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom, had been ſequeſtered. To great numbers of royaliſts, all redreſs from theſe ſequeſtrations was refuſed: To the reſt, the remedy could be obtained only by paying large compoſitions and ſubſcribing the covenant, which they abhorred. Beſides pitying the ruin and deſolation of ſo many ancient and honourable families; indifferent ſpectators could not but blame the hardſhip of puniſhing with ſuch ſeverity, actions, which the law, in its uſual and moſt undiſputed interpretation, ſtrictly required of every ſubject.

THE ſeverities too, exerciſed againſt the epiſcopal clergy, naturally affected the royaliſts, and even all men of candor, in a ſenſible manner. By the moſt moderate computation [r], it appears, that above one half of the eſtabliſhed clergy had been turned out to beggary and want, for no other crime than their adhering to the civil and religious principles, in which they had been educated; and for their attachment to thoſe laws, under whoſe countenance they had at firſt embraced that profeſſion. To renounce epiſcopacy and the liturgy, and to ſubſcribe the covenant, were the only terms, which could ſave them from ſo rigorous a fate; and if the leaſt

q Clement Walker's hiſtory of independency, p. 8.

r See John Walker's attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and ſufferings of the clergy. The parliament pretended to leave the ſequeſtered clergy a fifth of their revenue; but this author makes it ſufficiently appear, that this proviſion, ſmall as it is, was never regularly paid the ejected clergy.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

mark of malignancy, as it was called, or affection to the king, who ſo entirely loved them, had ever eſcaped their lips, even this hard choice was not permitted. The ſacred character, which gives the prieſthood ſuch authority over mankind, becoming more venerable from the ſufferings, endured, for the ſake of principle, by theſe diſtreſſed royaliſts, aggravated the general indignation againſt their perſecutors.

But what excited the moſt univerſal complaint was, the unlimited tyranny and deſpotic rule of the country-committees. During the war, the diſcretionary power of theſe courts was excuſed, from the plea of neceſſity: But the nation was reduced to deſpair, when it ſaw neither end put to their duration, nor bounds to their authority. Theſe could ſequeſter, fine, impriſon, and corporally puniſh, without law or remedy. They interpoſed in queſtions of private property. Under colour of malignancy, they exerciſed vengeance againſt their private enemies. To the obnoxious, and ſometimes to the innocent, they ſold their protection. And inſtead of one ſtar-chamber, which had been aboliſhed, a great number were anew erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority [s].

Could any thing have encreaſed the indignation againſt that ſlavery, into which the nation, from the too eager purſuit of liberty, had fallen; it muſt have been the reflection on the pretences, by which the people had ſo long been deluded. The ſanctified hypocrites, who called their oppreſſions the ſpoiling of the Egyptians, and their

[s] Clement Walker's hiſtory of independency, p. 5. Hollis gives the ſame repreſentation, as Walker, of the plundering, oppreſſions, and tyranny of the parliament: Only, inſtead of laying the fault on both parties, as Walker does, he aſcribes it ſolely to the independent faction. The preſbyterians indeed, being commonly denominated the *moderate* party, would probably be more inoffenſive. See Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 598. and Parl. Hiſt. vol. xv. p. 230.

rigid

rigid ſeverity the dominion of the Elect, interlarded all their iniquities with long and fervent prayers, ſaved themſelves from bluſhing by their pious grimaces, and exerciſed, in the name of the Lord, all their cruelty on men. An undiſguiſed violence could be forgiven: But ſuch a mockery of the underſtanding, ſuch an abuſe of religion, were, with men of penetration, objects of peculiar reſentment. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

THE parliament, conſcious of their decay in popularity, ſeeing a formidable armed force advance upon them, were reduced to deſpair, and found all their reſources much inferior to the preſent neceſſity. London ſtill retained a ſtrong attachment to preſbyterianiſm; and its militia, which was numerous, and had acquired reputation in the wars, had, by a late ordinance, been put into hands, in whom the parliament could entirely confide. This militia was now called out, and ordered to guard the line, which had been drawn round the city, in order to ſecure it againſt the king. A body of horſe was ordered to be inſtantly levied. Many officers, who had been caſhiered by the new model of the army, offered their ſervice to the parliament. An army of 5000 men lay in the north under the command of general Pointz, who was of the preſbyterian faction; but theſe were too diſtant to be employed in ſo urgent a neceſſity. The forces, deſtined for Ireland, were quartered in the weſt; and, though deemed faithful to the parliament, they alſo lay at a diſtance. Many inland garriſons were commanded by officers of the ſame party; but their troops, being ſo much diſperſed, could, at preſent, be of no manner of ſervice. The Scots were faithful friends and zealous for preſbytery and the covenant; but a long time was required, ere they could collect their forces, and march to the aſſiſtance of the parliament.

CHAP. LIX.

1647. 8th June.

In this ſituation it was thought more prudent to ſubmit, and by compliance to ſtop the fury of the enraged army. The declaration, by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies, was recalled, and erazed from the journal-book [t]. This was the firſt ſymptom, which the parliament gave of ſubmiſſion; and the army, hoping, by terror alone, to effect all their purpoſes, ſtopped at St. Albans, and entered into negociation with their maſters.

Here commenced the encroachments of the military upon the civil authority. The army, in their uſurpations on the parliament, copied exactly the model, which the parliament itſelf had ſet them, in their recent uſurpations on the crown.

Every day, they roſe in their demands. If one claim was granted, they had another ready, ſtill more enormous and exorbitant; and were determined never to be ſatisfied. At firſt, they pretended only to petition for what concerned themſelves as ſoldiers: Next, they muſt have a vindication of their character: Then, it was neceſſary, that their enemies be puniſhed [u]: At laſt, they claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and ſettling the nation [w].

They preſerved, in words, all deference and reſpect to the parliament; but in reality, inſulted them and tyrannized over them. That aſſembly, they pretended not to accuſe: It was only evil counſellors, who ſeduced and betrayed it.

16th June. They proceeded ſo far as to name eleven members, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treaſon, as enemies to the army and evil counſellors to the parliament.

[t] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 503, 547. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 45.
[u] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 509. [w] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 567, 633. Ibid. vol. viii. p. 731.

ment. Their names were Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Maſſey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nichols [x]. Theſe were the very leaders of the preſbyterian party. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

THEY inſiſted, that theſe members ſhould immediately be ſequeſtred from parliament, and be thrown into priſon [y]. The commons replied, that they could not, upon a general charge, proceed ſo far [z]. The army obſerved to them, that the caſes of Strafford and Laud were direct precedents for that purpoſe [a]. At laſt, the eleven members themſelves, not to give occaſion for diſcord, begged leave to retire from the houſe; and the army, for the preſent, ſeemed ſatisfied with this proof of ſubmiſſion [b].

PRETENDING, that the parliament intended to levy war upon them, and to involve the nation again in blood and confuſion, they required, that all new levies ſhould be ſtopped. The parliament complied with this demand [c].

THERE being no ſigns of reſiſtance, the army, in order to ſave appearances, removed, at the deſire of the parliament, to a greater diſtance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading. They carried the king along with them in all their marches.

THAT prince now found himſelf in a better ſituation than at Holdenby, and had attained ſome greater degree of freedom, as well as of conſideration with both parties.

ALL his friends had acceſs to his preſence: His correſpondence with the queen was not interrupted: His chaplains were reſtored to him, and he was allowed the

x Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 570. y Ibid. vol. vii. p. 572.
z Ibid. vol. vii. p. 592. a Ibid. vol. vii. p. 594. Whitlocke, p. 259. b Ibid. vol. vii. p. 593, 594. c Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 572, 574.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

use of the liturgy: His children were once allowed to visit him, and passed a few days at Caversham, where he then resided [d]. He had not seen the duke of Gloucester, his youngest son, and the princess Elizabeth, since he left London, at the commencement of the civil disorders [e]; nor the duke of York, since he went to the Scottish army before Newark. No private man, unacquainted with the pleasures of a court, and the tumult of a camp, more passionately loved his family, than did this good prince; and such an instance of indulgence in the army was extremely grateful to him. Cromwel, who was witness to the meeting of the royal family, confessed, that he never had been present at so tender a scene; and he extremely applauded the benignity, which displayed itself in the whole disposition and behaviour of Charles.

THAT artful politician, as well as the leaders of all parties, payed court to the king; and fortune, notwithstanding all his calamities, seemed again to smile upon him. The parliament, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, spoke to him in a more respectful style than formerly; and invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance to the settlement of the nation. The chief officers treated him with regard, and talked on all occasions of restoring him to his just powers and prerogatives. In the public declarations of the army, the settlement of his revenue and authority was insisted on [f]. The royalists, every where, entertained hopes of the restoration of monarchy; and the favour, which they universally bore the army, contributed very much to discourage the parliament, and to forward their submission.

[d] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 51, 52, 57.

[e] When the king applied to have his children, the parliament always told him, that they could take as much care at London, both of their bodies and souls, as could be done at Oxford. Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 127.

[f] Rush. vol. vii. p. 590.

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

THE king began to feel of what conſequence he was. The more the national confuſions encreaſed, the more was he confident, that all parties would, at laſt, have recourſe to his lawful authority, as the only remedy for the public diſorders. *You cannot be without me*, ſaid he, on ſeveral occaſions: *You cannot ſettle the nation but by my aſſiſtance.* A people without government and without liberty, a parliament without authority, an army without a legal maſter: Diſtractions every where, terrors, oppreſſions, convulſions: From this ſcene of confuſion, which could not long continue, all men, he hoped, would be brought to reflect on that ancient government, under which they and their anceſtors had ſo long enjoyed happineſs and tranquillity.

THOUGH Charles kept his ears open to all propoſals, and expected to hold the balance between the oppoſite parties, he entertained more hopes of accommodation with the army. He had experienced the extreme rigour of the parliament. They pretended totally to annihilate his authority: They had confined his perſon. In both theſe particulars, the army ſhowed more indulgence[g]. He had a free entercourſe with his friends. And in the propoſals, which the council of officers ſent for the ſettlement of the nation, they inſiſted neither on the abolition of epiſcopacy, nor on the puniſhment of the royaliſts; the two points to which the king had the moſt extreme reluctance: And they demanded, that a period ſhould be put to the preſent parliament, the event for which he moſt ardently longed.

HIS conjunction too ſeemed more natural with the generals, than with that uſurping aſſembly, who had ſo long aſſumed the entire authority of the ſtate, and who had declared their reſolution ſtill to continue maſters.

g Warwick, p. 303. Parl. Hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 40. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 50.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

By gratifying a few perſons with titles and preferments, he might draw over, he hoped, the whole military power, and, in an inſtant, reinſtate himſelf in his civil authority. To Ireton he offered the lieutenancy of Ireland: To Cromwel, the garter, the title of earl of Eſſex, and the command of the army. Negociations to this purpoſe were ſecretly conducted. Cromwel pretended to hearken to them; and was pleaſed to keep the door open for an accommodation, if the courſe of events ſhould, at any time, render it neceſſary. And the king, who had no ſuſpicion, that one, born a private gentleman, could entertain the daring ambition of ſeizing a ſceptre, tranſmitted through a long line of monarchs; indulged hopes, that he would, at laſt, embrace a meaſure, which, by all the motives of duty, intereſt, and ſafety, ſeemed to be recommended to him.

WHILE Cromwel allured the king by theſe expectations, he ſtill continued his ſcheme of reducing the parliament to ſubjection, and depriving them of all means of reſiſtance. To gratify the army, the parliament inveſted Fairfax with the title of general in chief of all the forces in England and Ireland; and entruſted the whole military authority to a perſon, who, though well inclined to their ſervice, was no longer at his own diſpoſal.

THEY voted, that the troops, which, in obedience to them, had inliſted for Ireland, and deſerted the rebellious army, ſhould be diſbanded, or, in other words, be puniſhed for their fidelity. The forces in the north, under Pointz, had already mutinied againſt their general, and had entered into an aſſociation with that body of the army, which was ſo ſucceſsfully employed in exalting the military above the civil authority [h].

THAT no reſource might remain to the parliament, it was demanded, that the militia of London ſhould be

[h] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 620.

changed,

changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those, who, during the course of the war, had constantly exercised it. The parliament even complied with so violent a demand, and passed a vote in obedience to the army [i]. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

By this unlimited patience, they proposed to temporize under their present difficulties, and they hoped to find a more favourable opportunity for recovering their authority and influence: But the impatience of the city lost them all the advantage of their cautious measures. A petition against the alteration of the militia was carried to Westminster, attended by the apprentices and seditious multitude, who besieged the door of the house of commons; and by their clamour, noise, and violence, obliged them to reverse that vote, which they had passed so lately. When gratified in this pretension, they immediately dispersed, and left the parliament at liberty [k]. 20th July.

No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the army was put in motion. The two houses being under restraint, they were resolved, they said, to vindicate, against the seditious citizens, the invaded privileges of parliament, and restore that assembly to its just freedom of debate and counsel. In their way to London, they were drawn up on Hounslow-Heath; a formidable army, twenty thousand strong, and determined, without regard to laws or liberty, to pursue whatever measures their generals should dictate to them. Here the most favourable event happened, to quicken and encourage their advance. The speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lenthal, attended with eight peers, and about sixty commoners, having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence

[i] Rush. vol. vii. p. 629, 632. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 61. Whitlocke, p. 269. Cl. Walker, p. 38.

[k] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 641, 643.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with ſhouts and acclamations: Reſpect was paid to them as to the parliament of England: And the army being provided with ſo plauſible a pretence, which, in all public tranſactions, is of great conſequence, advanced to chaſtiſe the rebellious city, and to re-inſtate the violated parliament [l].

NEITHER Lenthal nor Mancheſter were eſteemed independents; and ſuch a ſtep in them was unexpected. But they probably foreſaw, that the army muſt, in the end, prevail; and they were willing to pay court in time to that authority, which began to predominate in the nation.

THE parliament, forced from their temporizing meaſures, and obliged to reſign, at once, or combat for their liberty and power, prepared themſelves with vigour for defence, and determined to reſiſt the violence of the army. The two houſes immediately choſe new ſpeakers, lord Hunſdon, and Henry Pelham: They renewed their former orders for inliſting troops: They appointed Maſſey to be commander: They ordered the trained bands to man the lines: And the whole city was in a ferment, and reſounded with military preparations [m].

WHEN any intelligence arrived, that the army ſtopped or retreated, the ſhout of *One and all*, ran with alacrity, from ſtreet to ſtreet, among the citizens: When news came of their advancing, the cry of *Treat and capitulate* was no leſs loud and vehement [n]. The terror of an univerſal pillage, and even maſſacre, had ſeized the timid inhabitants.

As the army approached, Rainſborow, being ſent by the general over the river, preſented himſelf before Southwark, and was gladly received by ſome ſoldiers, who

[l] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 750. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 63.
[m] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 646. [n] Whitlocke, p. 265.

were

were quartered there for its defence, and who were resolved not to separate their intereſts from thoſe of the army. It behoved then the parliament to ſubmit. The army marched in triumph through the city; but preſerved the greateſt order, decency, and appearance of humility. They conducted to Weſtminſter the two ſpeakers, who took their ſeats as if nothing had happened. The eleven impeached members, being accuſed as authors of the tumult, were expelled; and moſt of them retired beyond ſea: Seven peers were impeached: The mayor, one ſheriff, and three aldermen, ſent to the Tower: Several citizens and officers of the militia committed to priſon: Every deed of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the ſpeakers: The lines about the city levelled: The militia reſtored to the independents: Regiments quartered in Whitehall and the Meuſe: And the parliament being reduced to a regular formed ſervitude, a day was appointed of ſolemn thankſgiving to God for the reſtoration of its liberty [o].

CHAP. LIX.

1647. 6th Aug.

The army ſubdue the parliament.

THE independent party exulted in their victory. The whole authority of the nation, they imagined, was lodged in their hands; and they had a near proſpect of moulding the government into that imaginary republic, which had long been the object of their wiſhes. They had ſecretly concurred in all encroachments of the military upon the civil power; and they expected, by the terror of the ſword, to impoſe a more perfect ſyſtem of liberty on the reluctant nation. All parties, the king, the church, the parliament, the preſbyterians, had been guilty of errors, ſince the commencement of theſe diſorders: But it muſt be confeſſed, that this deluſion of the independents and republicans was, of all others, the moſt contrary to common ſenſe and the eſtabliſhed maxims of policy. Yet were the leaders of that party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John,

[o] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 797, 798, &c.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

Martin, the men in England the moſt celebrated for profound thought and deep contrivance; and by their well-coloured pretences and profeſſions, they had over-reached the whole nation. To deceive ſuch men would argue a ſuperlative capacity in Cromwel; were it not, that, beſides the great difference there is between dark, crooked councils and true wiſdom, an exorbitant paſſion for rule and authority will make the moſt prudent overlook the dangerous conſequences of ſuch meaſures as ſeem to tend, in any degree, to their own advancement.

THE leaders of the army, having eſtabliſhed their dominion over the parliament and city, ventured to bring the king to Hampton-Court; and he lived, for ſome time, in that palace, with an appearance of dignity and freedom. Such equability of temper did he poſſeſs, that, during all the variety of fortune, which he underwent, no difference was perceived in his countenance or behaviour; and though a priſoner, in the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies, he ſupported, towards all who approached him, the majeſty of a monarch; and that, neither with leſs nor greater ſtate, than what he had been accuſtomed to maintain. His manner, which was not in itſelf popular nor gracious, now appeared amiable, from its great meekneſs and equality.

THE parliament renewed their applications to him, and preſented him with the ſame conditions, which they had offered at Newcaſtle. The king declined accepting them, and deſired the parliament to take the propoſals of the army into conſideration, and make them the foundation of the public ſettlement [p]. He ſtill entertained hopes, that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with ſucceſs; though every thing, in that particular, bore daily a worſe aſpect. Moſt hiſtorians have thought, that Cromwel never was ſincere in his profeſſions; and

[p] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 810.

that,

that, having by force, rendered himſelf maſter of the king's perſon, and, by fair pretences, acquired the countenance of the royaliſts, he had employed theſe advantages to the enſlaving of the parliament: And afterwards thought of nothing but the eſtabliſhment of his own unlimited authority, with which he eſteemed the reſtoration, and even life of the king, altogether incompatible. This opinion, ſo much warranted by the boundleſs ambition and profound diſſimulation of his character, meets with ready belief; though it is more agreeable to the narrowneſs of human views, and the darkneſs of futurity, to ſuppoſe, that this daring uſurper was guided by events, and did not, as yet, foreſee, with any aſſurance, that unparalleled greatneſs, which he afterwards attained. Many writers of that age have aſſerted [q], that he really intended to make a private bargain with the king; a meaſure, which carried the moſt plauſible appearance both for his ſafety and advancement: But that he found inſuperable difficulties in reconciling to it the wild humours of the army. The horror and antipathy of theſe fanatics had, for many years, been artfully fomented againſt Charles; and though their principles were, on all occaſions, eaſily warped and eluded by private intereſt, yet was ſome colouring requiſite, and a flat contradiction to all former profeſſions and tenets could not ſafely be propoſed to them. It is certain, at leaſt, that Cromwel made uſe of this reaſon, why he admitted rarely of viſits from the king's friends, and ſhowed leſs favour than formerly to the royal cauſe. The agitators, he ſaid, had rendered him odious to the army, and had repreſented him as a traitor, who, for the ſake of private intereſt, was ready to betray the cauſe of God to the great enemy of piety and religion. Deſperate projects too, he aſſerted to be ſecretly formed, for the murder of the king; and he pretended much to dread

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

[q] See note [C] at the end of the volume.

leſt

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

left all his authority, and that of the commanding officers, would not be able to reſtrain theſe enthuſiaſts from their bloody purpoſes [r].

INTELLIGENCE being daily brought to the king of menaces thrown out by the agitators; he began to think of retiring from Hampton-Court, and of putting himſelf in ſome place of ſafety. The guards were doubled upon him: The promiſcuous concourſe of people reſtrained: A more jealous care exerted in attending his perſon: All, under colour of protecting him from danger; but really with a view of making him uneaſy in his preſent ſituation. Theſe artifices ſoon produced the intended effect. Charles, who was naturally apt to be ſwayed by counſel, and who had not then acceſs to any good counſel, took ſuddenly a reſolution of withdrawing himſelf, though without any concerted, at leaſt, any rational ſcheme, for the future diſpoſal of his perſon. Attended only by Sir John Berkeley, Aſhburnham, and Leg, he privately left Hampton-Court; and his eſcape was not diſcovered, till near an hour after; when thoſe, who entered his chamber, found on the table ſome letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer, who had attended him [s]. All night, he travelled through the foreſt, and arrived next day at Tichfield, a ſeat of the earl of Southampton's, where the counteſs dowager reſided, a woman of honour, to whom, the king knew, he might ſafely entruſt his perſon. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone to the ſea-coaſt; and expreſſed great anxiety, that a ſhip, which he ſeemed to look for, had not arrived; and from thence, Berkeley and Leg, who were not in the ſecret, conjectured, that his intention was to tranſport himſelf beyond ſea.

11th Nov.

King flies to the iſle of Wight.

THE king could not hope to remain long concealed at Tichfield: What meaſure ſhould next be embraced, was

[r] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 76.

[s] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 871.

the

the queſtion. In the neighbourhood lay the iſle of Wight, of which Hammond was governor. This man was entirely dependent on Cromwel. At his recommendation he had married a daughter of the famous Hampden, who, during his life-time, had been an intimate friend of Cromwel, and whoſe memory was ever religiouſly reſpected by him. Theſe circumſtances were very unfavourable: Yet, becauſe the governor was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, and had acquired a good character in the army, it was thought proper to have recourſe to him, in the preſent exigence, when no other rational expedient could be thought of. Aſhburnham and Berkeley were diſpatched to the iſland. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place, where the king lay concealed, till they had firſt obtained a promiſe from him not to deliver up his majeſty, though the parliament and army ſhould require him; but to reſtore him to his liberty, if he could not protect him. This promiſe, it is evident, would have been a very ſlender ſecurity: Yet even without exacting it, Aſhburnham, imprudently, if not treacherouſly, brought Hammond to Tichfield; and the king was obliged to put himſelf into his hands, and to attend him to Cariſbroke-caſtle in the iſle of Wight, where, though received with great demonſtrations of reſpect and duty, he was in reality a priſoner. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

Lord Clarendon [t] is poſitive, that the king, when he fled from Hampton-Court, had no intention of going to this iſland; and indeed, all the circumſtances of that hiſtorian's narrative, which we have here followed, ſtrongly favour this opinion. But there remains a letter of Charles's to the earl of Laneric, ſecretary of Scotland; in which he plainly intimates, that that meaſure was voluntarily embraced, and even inſinuates, that, if he had thought proper, he might have been in Jerſey or any

[t] P. 79, 80, &c.

other

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

other place of ſafety [u]. Perhaps, he ſtill confided in the promiſes of the generals; and flattered himſelf, that, if he were removed from the fury of the agitators, by which his life was immediately threatened, they would execute what they had ſo often promiſed in his favour.

WHATEVER may be the truth in this matter; for it is impoſſible fully to aſcertain the truth; Charles never took a weaker ſtep, nor one more agreeable to Cromwel and all his enemies. He was now lodged in a place, removed from his partizans, at the diſpoſal of the army, whence it would be very difficult to deliver him, either by force or artifice. And though it was always in the power of Cromwel, whenever he pleaſed, to have ſent him thither; yet ſuch a meaſure would have been very invidious, if not attended with ſome danger. That the king ſhould voluntarily throw himſelf into the ſnare, and thereby gratify his implacable perſecutors, was to them an incident peculiarly fortunate, and proved in the iſſue very fatal to him.

CROMWEL, being now entirely maſter of the parliament, and free from all anxiety, with regard to the cuſtody of the king's perſon, applied himſelf ſeriouſly to quell thoſe diſorders in the army, which he himſelf had ſo artfully raiſed, and ſo ſucceſsfully employed, againſt both king and parliament. In order to engage the troops into a rebellion againſt their maſters, he had encouraged an arrogant ſpirit among the inferior officers and private men; and the camp, in many reſpects, carried more the appearance of civil liberty than of military obedience. The troops themſelves were formed into a kind of republic; and the plans of imaginary republics, for the ſettlement of the ſtate, were, every day, the topics of converſation among theſe armed legiſlators. Royalty it was agreed to aboliſh: Nobility muſt be ſet aſide: Even all

[u] See note [D] at the end of the volume.

ranks

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

ranks of men be levelled; and an universal equality of property, as well as of power, be introduced among the citizens. The saints, they said, were the salt of the earth: An entire parity had place among the elect: And, by the same rule, that the apostles were exalted from the most ignoble professions, the meanest sentinel, if enlightened by the spirit, was entitled to equal regard with the greatest commander. In order to wean the soldiers from these licentious maxims, Cromwel had issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and he pretended to pay entire obedience to the parliament, whom, being now reduced fully to subjection, he proposed to make, for the future, the instruments of his authority. But the *Levellers*, for so that party in the army was called, having experienced the sweets of dominion, would not so easily be deprived of it. They secretly continued their meetings: They asserted, that their officers, as much as any part of the church or state, stood in need of reformation: Several regiments joined in seditious remonstrances and petitions [w]: Separate rendevouses were concerted: And every thing tended to total anarchy and confusion. But this distemper was soon cured by the rough, but dextrous hand of Cromwel. He chose the opportunity of a review, that he might display the greater boldness, and spread the terror the wider. He seized the ringleaders before their companions: Held in the field a council of war: Shot one mutineer instantly: And struck such dread into the rest, that they presently threw down the symbols of sedition, which they had displayed, and thenceforth returned to their wonted discipline and obedience [x].

Cromwel had great deference for the counsels of Ireton; a man, who, having grafted the soldier on the

w Rush. vol. viii. p. 845, 859. x Idem ibid. p. 875. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 87.

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

lawyer, the ſtateſman on the ſaint, had adopted ſuch principles as were fitted to introduce the ſevereſt tyranny, while they ſeemed to encourage the moſt unbounded licence, in human ſociety. Fierce in his nature, though probably ſincere in his intentions; he propoſed by arbitrary power to eſtabliſh liberty, and, in proſecution of his imagined religious purpoſes, he thought himſelf diſpenſed from all the ordinary rules of morality, by which inferior mortals muſt allow themſelves to be governed. From his ſuggeſtion, Cromwel ſecretly called at Windſor a council of the chief officers, in order to deliberate concerning the ſettlement of the nation, and the future diſpoſal of the king's perſon[y]. In this conference, which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwel himſelf and other inſpired perſons (for the officers of this army received inſpiration with their commiſſion,) was firſt opened the daring and unheard-of counſel, of bringing the king to juſtice, and of puniſhing, by a judicial ſentence, their ſovereign for his pretended tyranny and maladminiſtration. While Charles lived, even though reſtrained to the cloſeſt priſon, conſpiracies, they knew, and inſurrections would never be wanting, in favour of a prince, who was ſo extremely revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the nation in general began to regard with great affection and compaſſion. To murder him privately was expoſed to the imputation of injuſtice and cruelty, aggravated by the baſeneſs of ſuch a crime; and every odious epithet of *Traitor* and *Aſſaſſin* would, by the general voice of mankind, be undiſputably aſcribed to the actors in ſuch a villany. Some unexpected procedure muſt be attempted, which would aſtoniſh the world by its novelty, would bear the ſemblance of juſtice, and would cover its barbarity by the audaciouſneſs of the enterprize. Striking in with the fanatical notions of the

[y] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 92.

entire

entire equality of mankind, it would enſure the devoted obedience of the army, and ſerve as a general engagement againſt the royal family, whom, by their open and united deed, they would ſo heinouſly affront and injure [z]. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

THIS meaſure, therefore, being ſecretly reſolved on, it was requiſite, by degrees, to make the parliament adopt it, and to conduct them from violence to violence; till this laſt act of atrocious iniquity ſhould ſeem, in a manner, wholly inevitable. The king, in order to remove thoſe fears and jealouſies, which were perpetually pleaded as reaſons for every invaſion of the conſtitution, had, offered, by a meſſage, ſent from Cariſbroke-caſtle, to reſign, during his own life, the power of the militia and the nomination to all the great offices; provided, that, after his death, theſe prerogatives ſhould revert to the crown [a]. But the parliament acted entirely as victors and enemies; and, in all their tranſactions with him, payed no longer any regard to equity or reaſon. At the inſtigation of the independents and army, they neglected this offer, and framed four propoſitions, which they ſent him as preliminaries; and, before they would deign to treat, they demanded his poſitive aſſent to all of them. By one, he was required to inveſt the parliament with the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to levy whatever money ſhould be neceſſary for exerciſing it: And even after the twenty years ſhould be elapſed, they reſerved a right of reſuming the ſame authority, whenever they ſhould declare the ſafety of the kingdom to re-

[z] The following was a favourite text among the enthuſiaſts of that age. "Let the high praiſes of God be in the mouths of his ſaints, and a two-"fold ſword in their hands, to execute vengeance upon the heathen and "puniſhment upon the people; to bind their kings with chains and their "nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgments written: "This honour have all his ſaints." Pſalm cxlix. ver. 6, 7, 8, 9. Hugh Peters, the mad chaplain of Cromwel, preached frequently upon this text.

[a] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 880.

quire

CHAP. LIX.

quire it. By the second, he was to recall all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament, and

1647. acknowledge that assembly to have taken arms in their just and necessary defence. By the third, he was to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal, since it had been carried from London by lord-keeper Littleton; and at the same time, renounce for the future the power of making peers without consent of parliament. By the fourth, he gave the two houses power to adjourn as they thought proper: A demand seemingly of no great consequence; but contrived by the independents, that they might be able to remove the parliament to places, where it should remain in perpetual subjection to the army [b].

1648. The king regarded the pretension as unusual and exorbitant, that he should make such concessions, while insecure of any settlement; and should blindly trust his enemies for the conditions, which they were afterwards to grant him. He required, therefore, a personal treaty with the parliament, and desired, that all the terms, on both sides, should be adjusted, before any concessions, on either side, should be insisted on. The republican party in the house pretended to take fire at this answer; and openly inveighed, in violent terms, against the person and government of the king; whose name, hitherto, had commonly, in all debates, been mentioned with some degree of reverence. Ireton, seeming to speak the sense of the army, under the appellation of many thousand godly men, who had ventured their lives in defence of the parliament, said, that the king, by denying the four bills, had refused safety and protection to his people; that their obedience to him was but a reciprocal duty for his protection of them; and that, as he had failed on his

[b] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 88.

part,

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

part, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and must settle the nation, without consulting any longer so misguided a prince [c]. Cromwel, after giving an ample character of the valour, good affections, and godliness of the army, subjoined, that it was expected the parliament should guide and defend the kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not accustom the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened; that those, who, at the expence of their blood, had hitherto defended the parliament from so many dangers, would still continue, with fidelity and courage, to protect them against all opposition, in this vigorous measure. "Teach them "not," added he, "by your neglecting your own safety "and that of the kingdom (in which theirs too is in-"volved) to imagine themselves betrayed, and their "interests abandoned to the rage and malice of an irre-"concileable enemy, whom, for your sake, they have "dared to provoke. Beware, *(and at these words he laid "his hand on his sword)* beware, lest despair cause them "to seek safety by some other means, than by adhering "to you, who know not how to consult your own safety [d]." Such arguments prevailed; though ninety-one members had still the courage to oppose. It was voted, that no more addresses be made to the king, nor any letters or messages be received from him; and that it be treason for any one, without leave of the two houses, to have any entercourse with him. The lords concurred in the same ordinance [e]. 15th Jan.

By this vote of non-addresses, for so it was called, the king was, in reality, dethroned, and the whole constitution formally overthrown. So violent a measure was supported by a declaration of the commons no less violent.

[c] Cl. Walker, p. 70. [d] Ibid. p. 70. [e] Rush. vol. viii. p. 965, 967.

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

The blackeſt calumnies were there thrown upon the king; ſuch as, even in their famous remonſtrance, they thought proper to omit, as incredible and extravagant: The poiſoning of his father, the betraying of Rochelle, the contriving of the Iriſh maſſacre [f]. By blaſting his fame, had that injury been in their power, they formed a very proper prelude to the executing of violence on his perſon.

No ſooner had the king refuſed his aſſent to the four bills, than Hammond, by orders from the army, removed all his ſervants, cut off his correſpondence with his friends, and ſhut him up in cloſe confinement. The king afterwards ſhowed to Sir Philip Warwick, a decrepid old man, who, he ſaid, was employed to kindle his fire, and was the beſt company he enjoyed, during ſeveral months that this rigorous confinement laſted [g]. No amuſement was allowed him, nor ſociety, which might relieve his anxious thoughts: To be ſpeedily poiſoned or aſſaſſinated was the only proſpect, which he had, every moment, before his eyes: For he entertained no apprehenſion of a judicial ſentence and execution; an event, of which no hiſtory hitherto furniſhed an example. Meanwhile the parliament was very induſtrious in publiſhing, from time to time, the intelligence, which they received from Hammond; how chearful the king was, how pleaſed with every one that approached him, how ſatisfied in his preſent condition [h]: As if the view of ſuch benignity and conſtancy had not been more proper to inflame, than allay, the general compaſſion of the people. The great ſource, whence the king derived conſolation amidſt all his calamities, was undoubtedly religion; a principle, which, in him, ſeems to have contained nothing fierce or gloomy, nothing which enraged him againſt his

[f] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 998. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 93.
[g] Warwick, 329. [h] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 989.

adverſaries,

adverſaries, or terrified him with the diſmal proſpect of futurity. While every thing around him bore a hoſtile aſpect; while friends, family, relations, whom he paſſionately loved, were placed at a diſtance, and unable to ſerve him; he repoſed himſelf with confidence in the arms of that Being, who penetrates and ſuſtains all nature, and whoſe ſeverities, if received with piety and reſignation, he regarded as the ſureſt pledges of unexhauſted favour. CHAP. LIX. 1648.

THE parliament and army, meanwhile, enjoyed not, in tranquillity, that power, which they had obtained with ſo much violence and injuſtice. Combinations and conſpiracies, they were ſenſible, were every where forming around them; and Scotland, whence the king's cauſe had received the firſt fatal diſaſter, ſeemed now to promiſe it ſupport and aſſiſtance. Second civil war.

BEFORE the ſurrender of the king's perſon at Newcaſtle, and much more, ſince that event, the ſubjects of diſcontent had been daily multiplying between the two kingdoms. The independents, who began to prevail, took all occaſions of mortifying the Scots, whom the preſbyterians looked on with the greateſt affection and veneration. When the Scottiſh commiſſioners, who, joined to a committee of Engliſh lords and commons, had managed the war, were ready to depart, it was propoſed in parliament to give them thanks for their civilities and good offices. The independents prevailed, that the words, *Good offices*, ſhould be ſtruck out; and thus the whole brotherly friendſhip and intimate alliance with the Scots, reſolved itſelf into an acknowledgement of their being well-bred gentlemen.

THE advance of the army to London, the ſubjection of the parliament, the ſeizing of the king at Holdenby, his confinement in Cariſbroke-caſtle, were ſo many blows, ſenſibly felt by that nation; as threatening the final over-

CHAP. LIX.

1648.

throw of presbytery, to which they were so passionately devoted. The covenant was profanely called, in the house of commons, an almanac out of date [i]; and that impiety, though complained of, had passed uncensured. Instead of being able to determine and establish orthodoxy by the sword and by penal statutes, they saw the sectarian army, who were absolute masters, claim an unbounded liberty of conscience, which the presbyterians regarded with the utmost abhorrence. All the violences, put on the king, they loudly blamed, as repugnant to the covenant, by which they stood engaged to defend his royal person. And those very actions, of which they themselves had been guilty, they denominated treason and rebellion, when executed by an opposite party.

The earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Laneric, who were sent to London, protested against the four propositions; as containing too great a diminution of the king's civil power, and providing no security for religion. They complained, that, notwithstanding this protestation, the propositions were still insisted on; contrary to the solemn league, and to the treaty between the two nations. And when they accompanied the English commissioners to the isle of Wight, they secretly formed a treaty with the king, for arming Scotland in his favour [k].

Invasion from Scotland.

THREE parties, at that time, prevailed in Scotland: The *Royalists*, who insisted upon the restoration of the king's authority, without any regard to religious sects or tenets: Of these Montrose, though absent, was regarded as the head. The *Rigid presbyterians*, who hated the king, even more than they abhorred toleration; and who determined to give him no assistance, till he should subscribe the covenant: These were governed by Argyle. The *Moderate presbyterians*, who endeavoured to reconcile the interests of religion and of the crown, and hoped, by

[i] Cl. Walker, p. 80.

[k] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 101.

sup-

supporting the presbyterian party in England, to suppress the sectarian army, and to re-instate the parliament, as well as the king, in their just freedom and authority: The two brothers, Hamilton and Laneric, were leaders of this party. CHAP. LIX. 1648.

When Pendennis castle was surrendered to the parliamentary army, Hamilton, who then obtained his liberty, returned into Scotland; and being generously determined to remember ancient favours, more than recent injuries, he immediately embraced, with zeal and success, the protection of the royal cause. He obtained a vote from the Scotch parliament to arm 40,000 men in support of the king's authority, and to call over a considerable body under Monro, who commanded the Scottish forces in Ulster. And though he openly protested, that the covenant was the foundation of all his measures, he secretly formed an alliance with the English royalists, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had levied considerable forces in the north of England.

The general assembly, who sat at the same time, and was guided by Argyle, dreaded the consequence of these measures, and foresaw, that the opposite party, if successful, would effect the restoration of monarchy, without the establishment of presbytery, in England. To join the king before he had subscribed the covenant, was, in their eyes, to restore him to his honour before Christ had obtained his[1]; and they thundered out anathemas against every one, who payed obedience to the parliament. Two supreme independent judicatures were erected in the kingdom; one threatening the people with damnation and eternal torments, the other with imprisonment, banishment, and military execution. The people were distracted in their choice; and the armament of Hamilton's party, though seconded by all the civil

[1] Whitlocke, p. 305.

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

power, went on but ſlowly. The royaliſts he would not, as yet, allow to join him, leſt he might give offence to the eccleſiaſtical party; though he ſecretly promiſed them truſt and preferment, as ſoon as his army ſhould advance into England.

WHILE the Scots were making preparations for the invaſion of England, every part of that kingdom was agitated with tumults, inſurrections, conſpiracies, diſcontents. It is ſeldom, that the people gain any thing by revolutions in government; becauſe the new ſettlement, jealous and inſecure, muſt commonly be ſupported with more expence and ſeverity than the old: But on no occaſion was the truth of this maxim more ſenſibly felt, than in the preſent ſituation of England. Complaints againſt the oppreſſion of ſhip-money, againſt the tyranny of the ſtar-chamber, had rouzed the people to arms: And having gained a complete victory over the crown, they found themſelves loaded with a multiplicity of taxes, formerly unknown; and ſcarcely an appearance of law and liberty remained in the adminiſtration. The preſbyterians, who had chiefly ſupported the war, were enraged to find the prize, juſt when it ſeemed within their reach, ſnatched by violence from them. The royaliſts, diſappointed in their expectations, by the cruel treatment which the king now received from the army, were ſtrongly animated to reſtore him to liberty, and to recover the advantages, which they had unfortunately loſt. All orders of men were inflamed with indignation at ſeeing the military prevail over the civil power, and king and parliament at once reduced to ſubjection by a mercenary army. Many perſons of family and diſtinction had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the parliament: But all theſe were, by the new party, deprived of authority; and every office was entruſted to the moſt ignoble part of the nation. A baſe populace exalted

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

ated above their ſuperiors: Hypocrites exerciſing iniquity under the vizor of religion: Theſe circumſtances promiſed not much liberty or lenity to the people; and theſe were now found united, in the ſame uſurped and illegal adminiſtration.

THOUGH the whole nation ſeemed to combine in their hatred of military tyranny, the ends, which the ſeveral parties propoſed, were ſo different, that little concert was obſerved in their inſurrections. Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, Preſbyterian officers, who commanded bodies of troops in Wales, were the firſt that declared themſelves; and they drew together a conſiderable army in thoſe parts, which were extremely devoted to the royal cauſe. An inſurrection was raiſed in Kent by young Hales and the earl of Norwich. Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, excited commotions in Eſſex. The earl of Holland, who had ſeveral times changed party, ſince the commencement of the civil wars, endeavoured to aſſemble forces in Surrey. Pomfret caſtle in Yorkſhire was ſurprized by Morrice. Langdale and Muſgrave were in arms, and maſters of Berwic and Carliſle in the north.

WHAT ſeemed the moſt dangerous circumſtance; the general ſpirit of diſcontent had ſeized the fleet. Seventeen ſhips, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting Rainſborow, their admiral, aſhore, ſailed over to Holland, where the prince of Wales took the command of them [m].

THE Engliſh royaliſts exclaimed loudly againſt Hamilton's delays, which they attributed to a refined policy in the Scots; as if their intentions were, that all the king's party ſhould firſt be ſuppreſſed, and the victory remain ſolely to the preſbyterians. Hamilton, with better

[m] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 137.

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

reaſon, complained of the precipitate humour of the Engliſh royaliſts, who, by their ill-timed inſurrections, forced him to march his army, before his levies were completed, or his preparations in any forwardneſs.

No commotions, beyond a tumult of the apprentices, which was ſoon ſuppreſſed, were raiſed in London: The terror of the army kept the citizens in ſubjection. The parliament was ſo over-awed, that they declared the Scots to be enemies, and all who joined them, traitors. Ninety members, however, of the lower houſe had the courage to diſſent from this vote.

CROMWEL and the military council prepared themſelves with vigour and conduct for defence. The eſtabliſhment of the army was, at this time, 26,000 men; but by inliſting ſupernumeraries, the regiments were greatly augmented, and commonly conſiſted of more than double their ſtated complement [n]. Colonel Horton firſt attacked the revolted troops in Wales, and gave them a conſiderable defeat. The remnants of the vanquiſhed threw themſelves into Pembroke, and were there cloſely beſieged, and ſoon after taken, by Cromwel. Lambert was oppoſed to Langdale and Muſgrave in the north, and gained advantages over them. Sir Michael Liveſey defeated the earl of Holland at Kingſton, and purſuing his victory, took him priſoner at St. Neots. Fairfax, having routed the Kentiſh royaliſts at Maidſtone, followed the broken army: And when they joined the royaliſts of Eſſex, and threw themſelves into Colcheſter; he laid ſiege to that place, which defended itſelf to the laſt extremity. A new fleet was manned, and ſent out under the command of Warwic, to oppoſe the revolted ſhips, of which the prince had taken the command.

WHILE the forces were employed in all quarters, the parliament regained its liberty, and began to act with its

[n] Whitlocke, p. 284.

wonted courage and ſpirit. The members, who had withdrawn from the terror of the army, returned; and infuſing boldneſs into their companions, reſtored to the preſbyterian party the aſcendant, which it had formerly loſt. The eleven impeached members were recalled, and the vote, by which they were expelled, was reverſed. The vote too of non-addreſſes was repealed; and commiſſioners, five peers and ten commoners, were ſent to Newport in the iſle of Wight, in order to treat with the king [o]. He was allowed to ſummon ſeveral of his friends and old counſellors, that he might have their advice in this important tranſaction [p]. The theologians on both ſides, armed with their ſyllogiſms and citations, attended as auxiliaries [q]. By them, the flame had firſt been raiſed; and their appearance was but a bad prognoſtic of its extinction. Any other inſtruments ſeemed better adapted for a treaty of pacification.

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

WHEN the king preſented himſelf to this company, a great and ſenſible alteration was remarked in his aſpect, from what it appeared the year before, when he reſided at Hampton Court. The moment his ſervants had been removed, he had laid aſide all care of his perſon, and had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang diſhevelled and neglected. His hair was become almoſt entirely gray; either from the decline of years, or from that load of ſorrows, under which he laboured, and which, though borne with conſtancy, preyed inwardly on his ſenſible and tender mind. His friends beheld with compaſſion, and perhaps even his enemies, that *grey and diſcrowned head*; as he himſelf terms it, in a copy of verſes, which the truth of the ſentiment, rather than any elegance of expreſſion, renders very pathetic [r]. Having

18th Sept. Treaty of Newport.

[o] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 180. Sir Edward Walker's perfect Copies, p. 6.
[p] Ibid. p. 8. [q] Ibid. p. 8, 38. [r] Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton,

in

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

in vain endeavoured by courage to defend his throne from his armed adverſaries, it now behoved him, by reaſoning and perſuaſion, to ſave ſome fragments of it from theſe peaceful, and no leſs implacable negotiators.

THE vigour of the king's mind, notwithſtanding the ſeeming decline of his body, here appeared unbroken and undecayed. The parliamentary commiſſioners would allow none of his council to be preſent, and refuſed to enter into reaſoning with any but himſelf. He alone, during the tranſactions of two months, was obliged to ſuſtain the argument againſt fifteen men of the greateſt parts and capacity in both houſes; and no advantage was ever obtained over him [s]. This was the ſcene, above all others, in which he was qualified to excel. A quick conception, a cultivated underſtanding, a chaſte elocution, a dignified manner; by theſe accompliſhments he triumphed in all diſcuſſions of cool and temperate reaſoning. *The king is much changed*, ſaid the earl of Saliſbury to Sir Philip Warwick: *He is extremely improved of late.* *No*, replied Sir Philip; *he was always ſo: But you are now at laſt ſenſible of it* [t]. Sir Henry Vane, diſcourſing with his fellow commiſſioners, drew an argument from the king's uncommon abilities, why the terms of pacification muſt be rendered more ſtrict and rigid [u]. But Charles's capacity ſhone not equally in action as in reaſoning.

THE firſt point, inſiſted on by the parliamentary commiſſioners, was the king's recalling all his proclamations and declarations againſt the parliament, and the acknowledging, that they had taken arms in their own defence. He frankly offered the former conceſſion; but long ſcrupled the latter. The falſehood, as well as indignity of that acknowledgement, begot in his breaſt an extreme

[s] Herbert's Memoirs, p. 72. [t] Warwick, p. 324.
[u] Clarendon. Sir Edward Walker, p. 319.

reluctance

reluctance againſt it. The king had, no doubt, in ſome particulars of moment, invaded, from a ſeeming neceſſity, the privileges of his people: But having renounced all claim to theſe uſurped powers, having confeſſed his errors, and having repaired every breach in the conſtitution, and even erected new ramparts, in order to ſecure it; he could no longer, at the commencement of the war, be repreſented as the aggreſſor. However it might be pretended, that the former diſplay of his arbitrary inclinations, or rather his monarchical principles, rendered an offenſive or preventive war in the parliament prudent and reaſonable; it could never, in any propriety of ſpeech, make it be denominated a defenſive one. But the parliament, ſenſible, that the letter of the law condemned them as rebels and traitors, deemed this point abſolutely neceſſary for their future ſecurity: And the king, finding, that peace could be obtained on no other terms, at laſt yielded to it. He only entered a proteſt, which was admitted; that no conceſſion, made by him, ſhould be valid, unleſs the whole treaty of pacification was concluded [w].

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

He agreed, that the parliament ſhould retain, during the term of twenty years, the power over the militia and army, and that of levying what money they pleaſed for their ſupport. He even yielded to them the right of reſuming, at any time afterwards, this authority, whenever they ſhould declare ſuch a reſumption requiſite for public ſafety. In effect, the important power of the ſword was for ever raviſhed from him and his ſucceſſors [x].

He agreed, that all the great offices, during twenty years, ſhould be filled by both houſes of parliament [y]. He relinquiſhed to them the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there [z]. He renounced

w Walker, p. 11, 12, 24. x Ibid. p. 51. y Ibid. p. 78.
z Ibid. p. 45.

the

CHAP. LIX. 1648

the power of the wards, and accepted of 100,000 pounds a year in lieu of it [a]. He acknowledged the validity of their great seal, and gave up his own [b]. He abandoned the power of creating peers without consent of parliament. And he agreed, that all the debts, contracted in order to support the war against him, should be paid by the people.

So great were the alterations, made on the English constitution by this treaty, that the king said, not without reason, that he had been more an enemy to his people by these concessions, could he have prevented them, than by any other action of his life.

Of all the demands of the parliament, Charles refused only two. Though he relinquished almost every power of the crown, he would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor desert what he esteemed his religious duty. The severe repentance, which he had undergone, for abandoning Strafford, had, no doubt, confirmed him in the resolution never again to be guilty of a like error. His long solitude and severe afflictions had contributed extremely to rivet him the more in those religious principles, which had ever a considerable influence over him. His desire, however, of finishing an accommodation induced him to go as far in both these particulars, as he thought any wise consistent with his duty.

The estates of the royalists being, at that time, almost entirely under sequestration, Charles, who could give them no protection, consented, that they should pay such compositions, as they and the parliament could agree on; and only begged, that they might be made as moderate as possible. He had not the disposal of offices; and it seemed but a small sacrifice to consent, that a certain number of his friends should be rendered incapable of

[a] Walker, p. 69, 77. [b] Ibid. p. 56, 68.

public

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

public employments [c]. But when the parliament demanded a bill of attainder and baniſhment againſt ſeven perſons, the marqueſs of Newcaſtle, lord Digby, lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Sir Francis Doddington, and judge Jenkins, the king utterly refuſed compliance: Their baniſhment for a limited time he was willing to agree to [d].

RELIGION was the fatal point about which the differences had ariſen; and of all others, it was the leaſt ſuſceptible of compoſition or moderation between the contending parties. The parliament inſiſted on the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery, the ſale of the chapter lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and ſtrict laws againſt catholics. The king offered to retrench every thing, which he did not eſteem of apoſtolical inſtitution: He was willing to aboliſh archbiſhops, deans, prebends, canons: He offered, that the chapter lands ſhould be let at low leaſes during ninety-nine years: He conſented, that the preſent church government ſhould continue during three years [e]: After that time, he required not, that any thing ſhould be reſtored to biſhops but the power of ordination, and even that power to be exerciſed by advice of the preſbyters [f]. If the parliament, upon the expiration of that period, ſtill inſiſted on their demand, all other branches of epiſcopal juriſdiction were aboliſhed, and a new form of church government muſt, by common conſent, be eſtabliſhed. The book of common prayer he was willing to renounce, but required the liberty of uſing ſome other liturgy in his own chapel [g]: A demand, which, though ſeemingly reaſonable, was poſitively refuſed by the parliament.

IN the diſpute on theſe articles, one is not ſurpriſed, that two of the parliamentary theologians ſhould tell the

[c] Walker, p. 61. [d] Ibid. p. 91, 93. [e] Ibid. p. 29, 35, 49.
[f] Ibid. p. 65. [g] Ibid. p. 75, 82. Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 1343.

king,

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

king, *That if he did not consent to the utter abolition of episcopacy, he would be damned.* But it is not without some indignation, that we read the following vote of the lords and commons. "The houses, out of their detestation "to that abominable idolatry used in the mass, do de- "clare, that they cannot admit of, or consent unto any "such indulgence in any law, as is desired by his ma- "jesty for exempting the queen and her family from the "penalties to be enacted against the exercise of the "mass [h]." The treaty of marriage, the regard to the queen's sex and high station, even common humanity; all considerations were undervalued, in comparison of their bigotted prejudices [i].

It was evidently the interest, both of king and parliament, to finish their treaty with all expedition; and endeavour, by their combined force, to resist, if possible, the usurping fury of the army. It seemed even the interest of the parliament, to leave, in the king's hand, a considerable share of authority, by which he might be enabled to protect them and himself, from so dangerous an enemy. But the terms, on which they insisted, were so rigorous, that the king, fearing no worse from the most implacable enemies, was in no haste to come to a conclusion. And so great was the bigotry on both sides, that they were willing to sacrifice the greatest civil interests, rather than relinquish the most minute of their theological contentions. From these causes, assisted by the artifice of the independents, the treaty was spun out to such a length, that the invasions and insurrections were every where subdued; and the army had leisure to execute their violent and sanguinary purposes.

Civil war and invasion repressed.

Hamilton, having entered England with a numerous, though undisciplined army, durst not unite his forces with those of Langdale; because the English

[h] Walker, p. 71.

[i] See note [E] at the end of the volume.

royalists

royaliſts had refuſed to take the covenant; and the Scottiſh preſbyterians, though engaged for the king, refuſed to join them on any other terms. The two armies marched together, though at ſome diſtance; nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army under Cromwel, oblige the covenanters to conſult their own ſafety, by a cloſe union with the royaliſts. When principles are ſo abſurd and ſo deſtructive of human ſociety, it may ſafely be affirmed, that, the more ſincere and the more diſintereſted they are, they only become the more ridiculous and more odious.

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

CROMWEL feared not to oppoſe 8000 men, to the numerous armies of 20,000, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale. He attacked the latter by ſurprize, near Preſton in Lancaſhire [k]; and, though the royaliſts made a ſtout reſiſtance, yet, not being ſuccoured in time by their confederates, they were almoſt entirely cut to pieces. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and purſued to Utoxeter, where he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner. Cromwel followed his advantage; and marching into Scotland with a conſiderable body, joined Argyle, who was alſo in arms; and having ſuppreſſed Laneric, Monro, and other moderate preſbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party. The eccleſiaſtical authority, exalted above the civil, exerciſed the ſevereſt vengeance on all who had a ſhare in Hamilton's engagement, as it was called; nor could any of that party recover truſt, or even live in ſafety, but by doing ſolemn and public penance for taking arms, by authority of parliament, in defence of their lawful ſovereign.

THE chancellor, Loudon, who had, at firſt, countenanced Hamilton's enterprize, being terrified with the menaces of the clergy, had, ſome time before, gone over

[k] 17th of Auguſt.

to

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

to the other party; and he now, openly in the church, though inveſted with the higheſt civil character in the kingdom, did penance for his obedience to the parliament, which he termed a *carnal ſelf-ſeeking*. He accompanied his penance with ſo many tears, and ſuch pathetical addreſſes to the people for their prayers, in this his uttermoſt ſorrow and diſtreſs, that an univerſal weeping and lamentation took place among the deluded audience [l].

THE loan of great ſums of money, often to the ruin of families, was exacted from all ſuch as lay under any ſuſpicion of favouring the king's party, though their conduct had been ever ſo inoffenſive. This was a device, fallen upon by the ruling party, in order, as they ſaid, to reach *Heart-Malignants* [m]. Never, in this iſland, was known a more ſevere and arbitrary government, than was generally exerciſed, by the patrons of liberty in both kingdoms.

THE ſiege of Colcheſter terminated in a manner no leſs unfortunate than Hamilton's engagement, for the royal cauſe. After ſuffering the utmoſt extremity of famine, after feeding on the vileſt aliments; the garriſon deſired, at laſt, to capitulate. Fairfax required them to ſurrender at diſcretion; and he gave ſuch an explanation to theſe terms, as to reſerve to himſelf power, if he pleaſed, to put them all inſtantly to the ſword. The officers endeavoured, though in vain, to perſuade the ſoldiers, by making a vigorous ſally, to break through, or at leaſt, to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. They were obliged [n] to accept of the conditions offered; and Fairfax, inſtigated by Ireton, to whom Cromwel, in his abſence, had conſigned over the government of the paſſive general, ſeized Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle, and reſolved to make them inſtant ſacrifices to military juſtice. This unuſual ſeverity was loudly exclaimed againſt by all

[l] Whitlocke, p. 360. [m] Guthrey. [n] 28th of Auguſt.

the

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

the prisoners. Lord Capel, fearless of danger, reproached Ireton with it; and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the same honourable cause, to exercise the same impartial vengeance on all of them. Lucas was first shot, and he himself, gave orders to fire, with the same alacrity, as if he had commanded a platoon of his own soldiers. Lisle instantly ran and kissed the dead body, and then chearfully presented himself to a like fate. Thinking that the soldiers, destined for his execution, stood at too great a distance, he called to them to come nearer: One of them replied, *I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you:* He answered smiling, *Friends, I have been nearer you when you have missed me.* Thus perished this generous spirit, not less beloved for his modesty and humanity, than esteemed for his courage and military conduct.

Soon after, a gentleman appearing in the king's presence, cloathed in mourning for Sir Charles Lucas; that humane prince, suddenly recollecting the hard fate of his friends, paid them a tribute, which none of his own unparalleled misfortunes ever extorted from him: He dissolved into a flood of tears [o].

By these multiplied successes of the army, they had subdued all their enemies; and none remained but the helpless king and parliament, to oppose their violent measures. From Cromwel's suggestion, a remonstrance was drawn by the council of general officers, and sent to the parliament. They there complain of the treaty with the king; demand his punishment for the blood spilt during the war; require a dissolution of the present parliament, and a more equal representative for the future; and assert, that, though servants, they are intitled to represent these important points to their masters, who are themselves no better than servants and trustees of the people. At the

[o] Whitlocke.

CHAP. LIX.

1648. The king seized again by the army.

ſame time, they advanced with the army to Windſor, and ſent colonel Eure to ſeize the king's perſon at Newport, and convey him to Hurſt caſtle in the neighbourhood, where he was detained in very ſtrict confinement.

THIS meaſure being foreſeen ſome time before, the king was exhorted to make his eſcape, which was conceived to be very eaſy: But having given his word to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty, and three weeks after; he would not, by any perſuaſion, be induced to hazard the reproach of violating that promiſe. In vain was it urged, that a promiſe, given to the parliament, could no longer be binding; ſince they could no longer afford him protection from violence, threatened him by other perſons, to whom he was bound by no tye or engagement. The king would indulge no refinements of caſuiſtry, however plauſible, in ſuch delicate ſubjects; and was reſolved, that, what depredations ſoever fortune ſhould commit upon him, ſhe never ſhould bereave him of his honour [p].

THE parliament loſt not courage, notwithſtanding the danger, with which they were ſo nearly menaced. Tho' without any plan for reſiſting military uſurpations, they reſolved to withſtand them to the uttermoſt; and rather to bring on a violent and viſible ſubverſion of government, than lend their authority to thoſe illegal and ſanguinary meaſures, which were projected. They ſet aſide the remonſtrance of the army, without deigning to anſwer it; they voted the ſeizing of the king's perſon, to be without their conſent, and ſent a meſſage to the general, to know by what authority that enterprize had been executed; and they iſſued orders, that the army ſhould advance no nearer to London.

HOLLIS, the preſent leader of the preſbyterians, was a man of unconquerable intrepidity; and many others of

[p] Col. Cooke's Memoirs, p. 174. Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 1347.

that party ſeconded his magnanimous ſpirit. It was propoſed by them, that the generals and principal officers ſhould, for their diſobedience and uſurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament. 1648.

BUT the parliament was dealing with men, who would not be frightened by words, nor retarded by any ſcrupulous delicacy. The generals, under the name of Fairfax, (for he ſtill allowed them to employ his name) marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Meuſe, St. James's, Durham-houſe, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, ſurrounded the parliament with their hoſtile armaments.

THE parliament, deſtitute of all hopes of prevailing, retained, however, courage to reſiſt. They attempted, in the face of the army, to cloſe their treaty with the king; and, though they had formerly voted his conceſſions with regard to the church and delinquents to be unſatisfactory, they now took into conſideration the final reſolution with regard to the whole. After a violent debate of three days, it was carried, by a majority of 129 againſt 83, in the houſe of commons, that the king's conceſſions were a foundation for the houſes to proceed upon in the ſettlement of the kingdom. Decemb. 6. The houſe purged.

NEXT day, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had environed the houſe with two regiments; and, directed by lord Grey of Groby, he ſeized in the paſſage forty-one members of the preſbyterian party, and ſent them to a low room, which paſſed by the appellation of *hell*; whence they were afterwards carried to ſeveral inns. Above 160 members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the moſt furious and moſt determined of the independents; and theſe exceeded not the number of fifty or ſixty. This invaſion of the parliament commonly paſſed under the

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

name of *colonel Pride's purge*; ſo much diſpoſed was the nation to make merry with the dethroning of thoſe members, who had violently arrogated the whole authority of government, and deprived the king of his legal prerogatives.

THE ſubſequent proceedings of the parliament, if this diminutive aſſembly deſerves that honourable name, retain not the leaſt appearance of law, equity, or freedom. They inſtantly reverſed the former vote, and declared the king's conceſſions unſatisfactory. They determined, that no member, abſent at this laſt vote, ſhould be received, till he ſubſcribed it, as agreeable to his judgment. They renewed their former vote of non-addreſſes. And they committed to priſon, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, the generals Maſſey, Brown, Copley, and other leaders of the preſbyterians. Theſe men, by their credit and authority, which was then very high, had, at the commencement of the war, ſupported the parliament; and thereby prepared the way for the greatneſs of the preſent leaders, who, at that time, were of ſmall account in the nation.

THE ſecluded members having publiſhed a paper, containing a narrative of the violence, which had been exerciſed upon them, and a proteſtation, that all acts were void, which, from that time, had been tranſacted in the houſe of commons; the remaining members encountered it with a declaration, in which they pronounced it falſe, ſcandalous, ſeditious, and tending to the deſtruction of the viſible and fundamental government of the kingdom.

THESE ſudden and violent revolutions held the whole nation in terror and aſtoniſhment. Every man dreaded to be trampled under foot, in the contention between thoſe mighty powers, which diſputed for the ſovereignty of the ſtate. Many began to withdraw their effects beyond ſea: Foreigners ſcrupled to give any credit to a people, ſo torn by

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

by domeſtic faction, and oppreſſed by military uſurpation: Even the internal commerce of the kingdom began to ſtagnate: And in order to remedy theſe growing evils, the generals, in the name of the army, publiſhed a declaration, in which they expreſſed their reſolution of ſupporting law and juſtice [q].

THE more to quiet the minds of men, the council of officers took into conſideration, a ſcheme called *The agreement of the people*; being the plan of a republic, to be ſubſtituted in the place of that government, which they had ſo violently pulled in pieces. Many parts of this ſcheme, for correcting the inequalities of the repreſentative, are plauſible; had the nation been diſpoſed to receive it, or had the army intended to impoſe it. Other parts are too perfect for human nature, and ſavour ſtrongly of that fanatical ſpirit, ſo prevalent throughout the kingdom.

THE height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained; the public trial and execution of their ſovereign. To this period was every meaſure precipitated by the zealous independents. The parliamentary leaders of that party had intended, that the army, themſelves, ſhould execute that daring enterprize; and they deemed ſo irregular and lawleſs a deed, beſt fitted to ſuch irregular and lawleſs inſtruments [r]. But the generals were too wiſe, to load themſelves ſingly with the infamy, which, they knew, muſt attend an action, ſo ſhocking to the general ſentiments of mankind. The parliament, they were reſolved, ſhould ſhare with them the reproach of a meaſure, which was thought requiſite for the advancement of their common ends of ſafety and ambition. In the houſe of commons, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge againſt the king. On their report a vote paſſed, declaring it treaſon in a king, to levy war againſt his parliament, and appointing a HIGH

[q] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 1364. [r] Whitlocke.

CHAP. LIX.

COURT OF JUSTICE to try Charles for this new invented treason. This vote was sent up to the house of peers.

1648.

THE house of peers, during the civil wars, had, all along, been of small account; but it had lately, since the king's fall, become totally contemptible; and very few members would submit to the mortification of attending it. It happened, that day, to be fuller than usual, and they were assembled to the number of sixteen. Without one dissenting voice, and almost without deliberation, they instantly rejected the vote of the lower house, and adjourned themselves for ten days; hoping, that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the commons.

1649.

THE commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. Having first established a principle, which is noble in itself, and seems specious, but is belied by all history and experience, *That the people are the origin of all just power*; they next declared, that the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by the people, and representing them, have the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons, hath the force of law, without the consent of king or house of peers. The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, so they called him, was again read and unanimously assented to.

January 4.

IN proportion to the enormity of the violences and usurpations, were augmented the pretences of sanctity, among those regicides. "Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwel in the house, "to bring the king to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but, since providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels; though I am not prepared

"to

"to give you any advice on this important occaſion. "Even I myſelf," ſubjoined he, "when I was lately "offering up petitions for his majeſty's reſtoration, felt "my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and con- "ſidered this ſupernatural movement as the anſwer, which "heaven, having rejected the king, had ſent to my ſup- "plications." 1649.

A WOMAN of Hertfordſhire, illuminated by prophetical viſions, deſired admittance into the military council, and communicated to the officers a revelation, which aſſured them, that their meaſures were conſecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly ſanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their preſent reſolutions [s].

COLONEL Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, and the moſt furious enthuſiaſt in the army, was ſent with a ſtrong party to conduct the king to London. At Windſor, Hamilton, who was there detained a priſoner, was admitted into the king's preſence: and falling on his knees, paſſionately exclaimed, *My dear maſter!—I have indeed been ſo to you*, replied Charles, embracing him. No farther intercourſe was allowed between them. The king was inſtantly hurried away. Hamilton long followed him with his eyes, all ſuffuſed in tears, and prognoſticated, that, in this ſhort ſalutation, he had given the laſt adieu to his ſovereign and his friend.

CHARLES himſelf was aſſured, that the period of his life was now approaching; but notwithſtanding all the preparations, which were making, and the intelligence, which he received, he could not, even yet, believe, that his enemies really meant to conclude their violences by a public trial and execution. A private aſſaſſination he every moment looked for; and though Harriſon aſſured him, that his apprehenſions were entirely groundleſs, it was by

[s] Whitlocke, p. 360.

CHAP. LIX.

1649.

that cataſtrophe, ſo frequent with dethroned princes, that he expected to terminate his life. In appearance, as well as in reality, the king was now dethroned. All the exterior ſymbols of ſovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to ſerve him without ceremony. At firſt, he was ſhocked with inſtances of rudeneſs and familiarity, to which he had been ſo little accuſtomed. *Nothing ſo contemptible as a deſpiſed prince!* was the reflection, which they ſuggeſted to him. But he ſoon reconciled his mind to this, as he had done to his other calamities.

All the circumſtances of the trial were now adjuſted; and the high court of juſtice fully conſtituted. It conſiſted of 133 perſons, as named by the commons; but there ſcarcely ever ſate above 70: So difficult was it found, notwithſtanding the blindneſs of prejudice, and the allurements of intereſt, to engage men of any name or character in that criminal meaſure. Cromwel, Ireton, Harriſon, and the chief officers of the army, moſt of them of mean birth, were members, together with ſome of the lower houſe and ſome citizens of London. The twelve judges were at firſt appointed in the number: But as they had affirmed, that it was contrary to all the ideas of Engliſh law to try the king for treaſon, by whoſe authority all accuſations for treaſon muſt neceſſarily be conducted; their names, as well as thoſe of ſome peers, were afterwards ſtruck out. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident. Coke was appointed ſolicitor for the people of England. Doriſlaus, Steele, and Aſke, were named aſſiſtants. The court ſat in Weſtminſter-hall.

It is remarkable, that, in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inſerted in the number, a voice came from one of the ſpectators, and cried, *He has more wit than to be here.* When the charge was read againſt the king, *In the name*

name of the people of England; the ſame voice exclaimed, *Not a tenth part of them.* Axtel the officer, who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box, whence theſe inſolent ſpeeches came; it was diſcovered, that lady Fairfax was there, and that it was ſhe who had had the courage to utter them. She was a perſon of noble extraction, daughter of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury; but being ſeduced by the violence of the times, ſhe had long ſeconded her huſband's zeal againſt the royal cauſe, and was now, as well as he, ſtruck with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected conſequence of all his boaſted victories. CHAP. LIX. 1649.

THE pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this tranſaction correſponded to the greateſt conception, that is ſuggeſted in the annals of human kind; the delegates of a great people ſitting in judgment upon their ſupreme magiſtrate and trying him for his miſgovernment and breach of truſt. The ſolicitor, in name of the commons, repreſented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and *entruſted* with a limited power; yet nevertheleſs, from a wicked deſign to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied war againſt the preſent parliament, and the people, whom they repreſented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. After the charge was finiſhed, the preſident directed his diſcourſe to the king, and told him, that the court expected his anſwer. The king's trial.

THE king, though long detained a priſoner, and now produced as a criminal, ſuſtained, by his magnanimous courage, the majeſty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity, he declined the authority of the court, and refuſed to ſubmit himſelf to their juriſdiction. He repreſented, that, having been engaged in treaty with his two houſes of parliament, and having finiſhed almoſt every article, he had expected to be brought to his capital in another

CHAP. LIX.

1649.

another manner, and ere this time, to have been reſtored to his power, dignity, revenue, as well as to his perſonal liberty: That he could not now perceive any appearance of the upper houſe, ſo eſſential a member of the conſtitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whoſe authority was pretended, were ſubdued by lawleſs force, and were bereaved of their liberty: That he himſelf was their NATIVE HEREDITARY KING; nor was the whole authority of the ſtate, though free and united, intitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majeſty of Heaven: That, admitting thoſe extravagant principles, which levelled all orders of men, the court could plead no power, delegated by the people; unleſs the conſent of every individual, down to the meaneſt and moſt ignorant peaſant, had been previouſly aſked and obtained: That he acknowledged, without ſcruple, that he had a *truſt*, committed to him, and one moſt ſacred and inviolable; he was entruſted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognizing a power, founded on the moſt atrocious violence and uſurpation: That having taken arms, and frequently expoſed his life, in defence of public liberty, of the conſtitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this laſt and moſt ſolemn ſcene, to ſeal with his blood thoſe precious rights, for which, though in vain, he had ſo long contended: That thoſe, who arrogated a title to ſit as his judges, were born his ſubjects, and born ſubjects to thoſe laws, which determined, *That the king can do no wrong:* That he was not reduced to the neceſſity of ſheltering himſelf under this general maxim, which guards every Engliſh monarch, even the leaſt deſerving; but was able, by the moſt ſatisfactory reaſons, to juſtify thoſe meaſures, in which he had been engaged: That, to the whole world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was deſirous, if called upon in another manner, to prove

prove the integrity of his conduct, and assert the justice of those defensive arms, to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourse: But that, in order to preserve an uniformity of conduct, he must, at present, forego the apology for his innocence; lest, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pyrates, he be justly branded as the betrayer, instead of being applauded as the martyr, of the constitution. CHAP. LIX. 1649.

THE president, in order to support the majesty of the people, and maintain the superiority of his court above the prisoner, still inculcated, that he must not decline the authority of his judges; that they over-ruled his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only source of every lawful power; and that kings themselves acted but in trust from that community, which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction. Even according to those principles, which, in his present situation, he was perhaps obliged to adopt, his behaviour, in general, will appear not a little harsh and barbarous; but when we consider him as a subject, and one too of no high character, addressing himself to his unfortunate sovereign, his style will be esteemed, to the last degree, audacious and insolent.

THREE times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved, that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed, that he intended to resign the crown to his son: But the court refused compliance, and considered that request as nothing but a delay of justice. 27th Jan.

IT

CHAP. LIX.

1649.

It is confeſſed, that the king's behaviour, during this laſt period of his life, does honour to his memory; and that, in all appearances before his judges, he never forgot his part, either as a prince or as a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained, in each reply, the utmoſt perſpicuity and juſtneſs both of thought and expreſſion: Mild and equable, he roſe into no paſſion at that unuſual authority, which was aſſumed over him. His ſoul, without effort or affectation, ſeemed only to remain in the ſituation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity. The ſoldiers, inſtigated by their ſuperiors, were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for juſtice: *Poor ſouls!* ſaid the king to one of his attendants; *for a little money they would do as much againſt their commanders* [t]. Some of them were permitted to go the utmoſt length of brutal inſolence, and to ſpit in his face, as he was conducted along the paſſage to the court. To excite a ſentiment of piety was the only effect, which this inhuman inſult was able to produce upon him.

The people, though under the rod of lawleſs, unlimited power, could not forbear, with the moſt ardent prayers, to pour forth their wiſhes for his preſervation; and, in his preſent diſtreſs, they avowed *him*, by their generous tears, for their monarch, whom, in their miſguided fury, they had before ſo violently rejected. The king was ſoftened at this moving ſcene, and expreſſed his gratitude for their dutiful affection. One ſoldier too, ſeized by contagious ſympathy, demanded from heaven a bleſſing on oppreſſed and fallen majeſty: His officer, overhearing the prayer, beat him to the ground in the king's preſence. *The puniſhment, methinks, exceeds the offence:* This was the reflection which Charles formed on that occaſion [u].

[t] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 1425. [u] Warwick, p. 339.

As

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

As soon as the intention of trying the king was known in foreign nations, so enormous an action was exclaimed against by the general voice of reason and humanity; and all men, under whatever form of government they were born, rejected this example, as the utmost effort of undisguised usurpation, and the most heinous insult on law and justice. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed in the king's behalf: The Dutch employed their good offices: The Scots exclaimed and protested against this violence: The queen, the prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. All solicitations were found fruitless with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

FOUR of Charles's friends, persons of virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Lindesey, applied to the commons. They represented, that they were the king's counsellors, and had concurred, by their advice, with all those measures, which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master: That, in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reason, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blameable action of the prince: And that they now presented themselves, in order to save, by their own punishment, that precious life, which it became the commons themselves, and every subject, with the utmost hazard, to protect and defend [w]. Such a generous effort tended to their honour; but contributed nothing towards the king's safety.

THE people remained in that silence and astonishment, which all great passions, when they have not an opportunity of exerting themselves, naturally produce in the human mind. The soldiers, being incessantly plied with prayers, sermons, and exhortations, were wrought up to a degree of fury, and imagined, that, in the acts of the

[w] Perinchef, p. 85. Lloyde, p. 319.

most

CHAP. LIX.

1649.

moſt extreme diſloyalty towards their prince, conſiſted their higheſt merit in the eye of heaven [x].

THREE days were allowed the king between his ſentence and his execution. This interval he paſſed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family, that remained in England, were allowed acceſs to him. It conſiſted only of the princeſs Elizabeth and the duke of Gloceſter; for the duke of York had made his eſcape. Gloceſter was little more than an infant: The princeſs, notwithſtanding her tender years, ſhewed an advanced judgment; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impreſſion upon her. After many pious conſolations and advices, the king gave her in charge to tell the queen, that, during the whole courſe of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal tenderneſs and his life ſhould have an equal duration.

To the young duke too, he could not forbear giving ſome advice, in order to ſeaſon his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was ſo ſoon to be his ſovereign. Holding him on his knee, he ſaid, "Now they will cut off thy father's "head." At theſe words, the child looked very ſtedfaſtly upon him. "Mark! child, what I ſay: They "will cut off my head! and perhaps make thee a king: "But mark what I ſay: Thou muſt not be a king, as "long as thy brothers, Charles and James, are alive. "They will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can "catch them! And thy head too they will cut off at "laſt! And therefore I charge thee, do not be made a "king by them!" The duke, ſighing replied, "I will "be torn in pieces firſt!" So determined an anſwer, from one of ſuch tender years, filled the king's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

[x] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

EVERY

CHAP. LIX.

EVERY night, during this interval, the king ſlept ſound as uſual; though the noiſe of workmen, employed in framing the ſcaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually reſounded in his ears [y]. The morning of the fatal day, he roſe early; and calling Herbert, one of his attendnats, he bade him employ more than uſual care in dreſſing him, and preparing him for ſo great and joyful a ſolemnity. Biſhop Juxon, a man endowed with the ſame mild and ſteddy virtues, by which the king himſelf was ſo much diſtinguiſhed, aſſiſted him in his devotions, and paid the laſt melancholy duties to his friend and ſovereign. 1649. 30th Jan.

THE ſtreet before Whitehall was the place deſtined for the execution: For it was intended, by chooſing that very place, in ſight of his own palace, to diſplay more evidently the triumph of popular juſtice over royal majeſty. When the king came upon the ſcaffold, he found it ſo ſurrounded with ſoldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: He addreſſed, therefore, his diſcourſe to the few perſons who were about him; particularly colonel Tomlinſon, to whoſe care he had lately been committed, and upon whom, as upon many others, his amiable deportment had wrought an entire converſion. He juſtified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, and obſerved, that he had not taken arms, till after the parliament had inliſted forces; nor had he any other object in his warlike operations, than to preſerve that authority entire, which his anceſtors had tranſmitted to him. He threw not, however, the blame upon the parliament; but was more inclined to think, that ill inſtruments had interpoſed, and excited in them fears and jealouſies with regard to his intentions. Though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and obſerved, And execution.

[y] Clement Walker's hiſtory of independency.

CHAP. LIX.

1649.

that an unjuſt ſentence, which he had ſuffered to take effect, was now puniſhed by an unjuſt ſentence upon himſelf. He forgave all his enemies, even the chief inſtruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful ſovereign, his ſon and ſucceſſor. When he was preparing himſelf for the block, biſhop Juxon called to him: "There is, Sir, but one ſtage "more, which, though turbulent and troubleſome, is "yet a very ſhort one. Conſider, it will ſoon carry you "a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; "and there you ſhall find, to your great joy, the prize, "to which you haſten, a crown of glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible "crown; where no diſturbance can have place." At one blow was his head ſevered from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner: Another, in a like diſguiſe, held up, to the ſpectators, the head, ſtreaming with blood, and cried aloud, *This is the head of a traitor!*

IT is impoſſible to deſcribe the grief, indignation, and aſtoniſhment, which took place, not only among the ſpectators, who were overwhelmed with a flood of ſorrow, but throughout the whole nation, as ſoon as the report of this fatal execution was conveyed to them. Never monarch, in the full triumph of ſucceſs and victory, was more dear to his people, than his misfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety, had rendered this unhappy prince. In proportion to their former deluſions, which had animated them againſt him, was the violence of their return to duty and affection; while each reproached himſelf, either with active diſloyalty towards him, or with too indolent defence of his oppreſſed cauſe. On weaker minds, the effect of theſe complicated paſſions was prodigious. Women are ſaid to have caſt forth the untimely

untimely fruit of their womb: Others fell into convulsions, or sunk into such a melancholy as attended them to their grave: Nay some, unmindful of themselves, as though they could not, or would not survive their beloved prince, it is reported, suddenly fell down dead. The very pulpits were bedewed with unsuborned tears; those pulpits, which had formerly thundered out the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him. And all men united in their detestation of those hypocritical parricides, who, by sanctified pretences, had so long disguised their treasons, and in this last act of iniquity, had thrown an indelible stain upon the nation. CHAP. LIX. 1649.

A FRESH instance of hypocrisy was displayed the very day of the king's death. The generous Fairfax, not content with being absent from the trial, had used all the interest, which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal sentence; and had even employed persuasion with his own regiment, though none else should follow him, to rescue the king from his disloyal murderers. Cromwel and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavoured to convince him, that the Lord had rejected the king; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from heaven on this important occasion: But they concealed from him, that they had already signed the warrant for the execution. Harrison was the person appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement, he prolonged his doleful cant, till intelligence arrived, that the fatal blow was struck. He then rose from his knees, and insisted with Fairfax, that this event was a miraculous and providential answer, which heaven had sent to their devout supplications [z].

IT being remarked, that the king, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had said to Juxon, with a very earnest accent, the single word,

[z] Herbert, p. 135.

CHAP. LIX.

1649.

REMEMBER; great myſteries were ſuppoſed to be concealed under that expreſſion; and the generals vehemently inſiſted with the prelate, that he ſhould inform them of the king's meaning. Juxon told them, that the king, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his ſon the forgiveneſs of his murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the laſt moment of his life, when his commands, he ſuppoſed, would be regarded as ſacred and inviolable, to re-iterate that deſire; and that his mild ſpirit thus terminated its preſent courſe, by an act of benevolence towards his greateſt enemies.

THE character of this prince, as that of moſt men, if not of all men, was mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his vices, or, more properly ſpeaking, his imperfections: For ſcarce any of his faults roſe to that pitch as to merit the appellation of vices. To conſider him in the moſt favourable light, it may be affirmed, that his dignity was free from pride, his humanity from weakneſs, his bravery from raſhneſs, his temperance from auſterity, his frugality from avarice: All theſe virtues, in him, maintained their proper bounds, and merited unreſerved praiſe. To ſpeak the moſt harſhly of him, we may affirm, that many of his good qualities were attended with ſome latent frailty, which, though ſeemingly inconſiderable, was able, when ſeconded by the extreme malevolence of his fortune, to diſappoint them of all their influence: His beneficent diſpoſition was clouded by a manner not very gracious; his virtue was tinctured with ſuperſtition; his good ſenſe was diſfigured by a deference to perſons of a capacity much inferior to his own; and his moderate temper exempted him not from haſty and precipitate reſolutions. He deſerves the epithet of a good, rather than of a great man; and was more fitted to rule in a regular eſtabliſhed government, than either to give way to the encroachments of a popular aſſembly, or

finally

finally to ſubdue their pretenſions. He wanted ſuppleneſs and dexterity ſufficient for the firſt meaſure: He was not endowed with the vigour requiſite for the ſecond. Had he been born an abſolute prince, his humanity and good ſenſe had rendered his reign happy and his memory precious: Had the limitations on prerogative been, in his time, quite fixed and certain, his integrity had made him regard, as ſacred, the boundaries of the conſtitution. Unhappily, his fate threw him into a period, when the precedents of many former reigns ſavoured ſtrongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty. And if his political prudence was not ſufficient to extricate him from ſo perilous a ſituation, he may be excuſed; ſince, even after the event, when it is commonly eaſy to correct all errors, one is at a loſs to determine what conduct, in his circumſtances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, and preſerved the peace of the nation. Expoſed, without revenue, without arms, to the aſſault of furious, implacable, and bigotted factions, it was never permitted him, but with the moſt fatal conſequences, to commit the ſmalleſt miſtake; a condition too rigorous to be impoſed on the greateſt human capacity.

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

Some hiſtorians have raſhly queſtioned the good faith of this prince: But, for this reproach, the moſt malignant ſcrutiny of his conduct, which, in every circumſtance, is now thoroughly known, affords not any reaſonable foundation. On the contrary, if we conſider the extreme difficulties, to which he was ſo frequently reduced, and compare the ſincerity of his profeſſions and declarations; we ſhall avow, that probity and honour ought juſtly to be numbered among his moſt ſhining qualities. In every treaty, thoſe conceſſions, which, he thought, he could not, in conſcience, maintain, he never could, by any motive or perſuaſion, be induced to

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

make. And though ſome violations of the petition of right may be imputed to him; theſe are more to be aſcribed to the neceſſity of his ſituation, and to the lofty ideas of royal prerogative, which he had imbibed, than to any failure in the integrity of his principles [a].

THIS prince was of a comely preſence; of a ſweet, but melancholy aſpect. His face was regular, handſome, and well complexioned; his body ſtrong, healthy, and juſtly proportioned; and being of a middle ſtature, he was capable of enduring the greateſt fatigues. He excelled in horſemanſhip and other exerciſes; and he poſſeſſed all the exterior, as well as many of the eſſential qualities, which form an accompliſhed prince.

THE tragical death of Charles begat a queſtion, whether the people, in any caſe, were intitled to judge and to puniſh their ſovereign; and moſt men, regarding chiefly the atrocious uſurpation of the pretended judges, and the merit of the virtuous prince who ſuffered, were inclined to condemn the republican principles, as highly ſeditious and extravagant: But there ſtill were a few, who, abſtracting from the particular circumſtances of this caſe, were able to conſider the queſtion in general, and were inclined to moderate, not contradict, the prevailing ſentiment. Such might have been their reaſoning. If ever, on any occaſion, it were laudable to conceal truth from the populace; it muſt be confeſſed, that the doctrine of reſiſtance affords ſuch an example; and that all ſpeculative reaſoners ought to obſerve, with regard to this principle, the ſame cautious ſilence, which the laws, in every ſpecies of government, have ever preſcribed to themſelves. Government is inſtituted, in order to reſtrain the fury and injuſtice of the people; and being always founded on opinion, not on force, it is dangerous to weaken, by theſe ſpeculations, the reverence, which the multitude

[a] See note [F] at the end of the volume.

owe to authority, and to inſtruct them beforehand, that the caſe can never happen, when they may be freed from their duty of allegiance. Or ſhould it be found impoſſible to reſtrain the licence of human diſquiſitions, it muſt be acknowledged, that the doctrine of obedience ought alone to be *inculcated*, and that the exceptions, which are rare, ought ſeldom or never to be mentioned in popular reaſonings and diſcourſes. Nor is there any danger, that mankind, by this prudent reſerve, ſhould univerſally degenerate into a ſtate of abject ſervitude. When the exception really occurs, even though it be not previouſly expected and deſcanted on, it muſt, from its very nature, be ſo obvious and undiſputed, as to remove all doubt, and overpower the reſtraint, however great, impoſed by teaching the general doctrine of obedience. But between reſiſting a prince and dethroning him, there is a wide interval; and the abuſes of power, which can warrant the latter violence, are greater and more enormous, than thoſe which will juſtify the former. Hiſtory, however, ſupplies us with examples even of this kind; and the reality of the ſuppoſition, though, for the future, it ought ever to be little looked for, muſt, by all candid enquirers, be acknowledged in the paſt. But between dethroning a prince and puniſhing him, there is another very wide interval; and it were not ſtrange, if even men of the moſt enlarged thought ſhould queſtion, whether human nature could ever, in any monarch, reach that height of depravity, as to warrant, in revolted ſubjects, this laſt act of extraordinary juriſdiction. That illuſion, if it be an illuſion, which teaches us to pay a ſacred regard to the perſons of princes, is ſo ſalutary, that to diſſipate it by the formal trial and puniſhment of a ſovereign, will have more pernicious effects upon the people, than the example of juſtice can be ſuppoſed to have a beneficial influence upon princes, by checking their career of tyranny. It is

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

CHAP. LIX. 1679.

dangerous also, by these examples, to reduce princes to despair, or bring matters to such extremities against persons endowed with great power, as to leave them no resource, but in the most violent and most sanguinary counsels. This general position being established, it must, however, be observed, that no reader, almost of any party or principle, was ever shocked, when he read, in antient history, that the Roman senate voted Nero, their absolute sovereign, to be a public enemy, and, even without trial, condemned him to the severest and most ignominious punishment; a punishment, from which the meanest Roman citizen was, by the laws, exempted. The crimes of that bloody tyrant are so enormous, that they break through all rules; and extort a confession, that such a dethroned prince is no longer superior to his people, and can no longer plead, in his own defence, laws, which were established for conducting the ordinary course of administration. But when we pass from the case of Nero to that of Charles, the great disproportion, or rather total contrariety, of character immediately strikes us; and we stand astonished, that, among a civilized people, so much virtue could ever meet with so fatal a catastrophe. History, the great mistress of wisdom, furnishes examples of all kinds; and every prudential, as well as moral precept, may be authorized by those events, which her enlarged mirror is able to present to us. From the memorable revolutions, which passed in England during this period, we may naturally deduce the same useful lesson, which Charles himself, in his later years, inferred; that it is dangerous for princes to assume more authority, than the laws have allowed them. But, it must be confessed, that these events furnish us with another instruction, no less natural, and no less useful, concerning the madness of the people, the furies of fanaticism, and the danger of mercenary armies.

In

CHAP. LIX.

1649. 6th Feb.

In order to close this part of British history, it is also necessary to relate the dissolution of the monarchy in England: That event soon followed upon the death of the monarch. When the peers met, on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the least notice. In a few days, the lower house passed a vote, that they should make no more addresses to the house of peers, nor receive any from them; and that that house was useless and dangerous, and was therefore to be abolished. A like vote passed with regard to the monarchy; and it is remarkable, that Martin, a zealous republican, in the debate on this question, confessed, that, if they desired a king, the last was as proper as any gentleman in England [b]. The commons ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on which that assembly was represented, with this legend, ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. The forms of all public business were changed, from the king's name, to that of the keepers of the liberties of England [c]. And it was declared high treason to proclaim, or any otherwise acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales.

The commons intended, it is said, to bind the princess Elizabeth apprentice to a button-maker: The duke of Gloucester was to be taught some other mechanical employment. But the former soon died; of grief, as is supposed, for her father's tragical end: The latter was, by Cromwel, sent beyond sea.

b Walker's history of independency, part 2.

c The court of King's Bench was called the court of Public Bench. So cautious on this head were some of the republicans, that, it is pretended, in reciting the Lord's prayer, they would not say *thy kingdom come*, but always *thy commonwealth come*.

CHAP. LIX.

1649. THE king's ſtatue, in the Exchange, was thrown down; and on the pedeſtal theſe words were inſcribed: EXIT TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS; *The tyrant is gone, the laſt of the kings.*

DUKE HAMILTON was tried by a new high court of juſtice, as earl of Cambridge in England; and condemned for treaſon. This ſentence, which was certainly hard, but which ought to ſave his memory from all imputations of treachery to his maſter, was executed on a ſcaffold, erected before Weſtminſter-hall. Lord Capel underwent the ſame fate. Both theſe noblemen had eſcaped from priſon, but were afterwards diſcovered and taken. To all the ſolicitations of their friends for pardon, the generals and parliamentary leaders ſtill replied, that it was certainly the intention of providence they ſhould ſuffer; ſince it had permitted them to fall into their enemies's hands, after they had once recovered their liberty.

THE earl of Holland loſt his life by a like ſentence. Though of a polite and courtly behaviour, he died lamented by no party. His ingratitude to the king, and his frequent changing ſides, were regarded as great ſtains on his memory. The earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen, being condemned by the ſame court, were pardoned by the commons.

THE king left ſix children; three males, Charles, born in 1630, James duke of York, born in 1633, Henry duke of Gloceſter, born in 1641; and three females, Mary princeſs of Orange, born 1631, Elizabeth, born 1635, and Henrietta, afterwards ducheſs of Orleans, born at Exeter 1644.

THE archbiſhops of Canterbury in this reign were Abbot and Laud: The lord keepers, Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, lord Coventry, lord Finch, lord Littleton, and Sir Richard Lane; the high admirals, the duke of Bucking-

Buckingham and the earl of Northumberland; the treasurers, the earl of Marlborough, the earl of Portland, Juxon, biſhop of London, and lord Cottington; the ſecretaries of ſtate, lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton, Coke, Sir Henry Vane, lord Falkland, lord Digby, and Sir Edward Nicholas. CHAP. LIX. 1649.

It may be expected, that we ſhould here mention the *Icon Baſiliké*, a work publiſhed in the king's name a few days after his execution. It ſeems almoſt impoſſible, in the controverted parts of hiſtory, to ſay any thing which will ſatisfy the zealots of both parties: But with regard to the genuineneſs of that production, it is not eaſy for an hiſtorian to fix any opinion, which will be entirely to his own ſatisfaction. The proofs brought to evince, that this work is or is not the king's, are ſo convincing, that, if an impartial reader peruſes any one ſide apart [d], he will think it impoſſible, that arguments could be produced, ſufficient to counter-balance ſo ſtrong an evidence: And when he compares both ſides, he will be ſome time at a loſs to fix any determination. Should an abſolute ſuſpence of judgment be found difficult or diſagreeable in ſo intereſting a queſtion, I muſt confeſs, that I much incline to give the preference to the arguments of the royaliſts. The teſtimonies, which prove that performance to be the king's, are more numerous, certain, and direct, than thoſe on the other ſide. This is the caſe, even if we conſider the external evidence: But when we weigh the internal, derived from the ſtyle and compoſition, there is no manner of compariſon. Theſe meditations reſemble,

[d] See on the one hand, Toland's Amyntor, and on the other, Wagſtaffe's vindication of the royal martyr, with Young's addition. We may remark, that lord Clarendon's total ſilence with regard to this ſubject, in ſo full a hiſtory, compoſed in vindication of the king's meaſures and character, forms a preſumption on Toland's ſide, and a preſumption of which that author was ignorant; the works of the noble hiſtorian not being then publiſhed. Biſhop Burnet's teſtimony too muſt be allowed of ſome weight againſt the *Icon*.

in

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

in elegance, purity, neatneſs, and ſimplicity, the genius of thoſe performances, which we know with certainty to have flowed from the royal pen: But are ſo unlike the bombaſt, perplexed, rhetorical, and corrupt ſtyle of Dr. Gauden, to whom they are aſcribed, that no human teſtimony ſeems ſufficient to convince us, that he was the author. Yet all the evidences, which would rob the king of that honour, tend to prove, that Dr. Gauden had the merit of writing ſo fine a performance, and the infamy of impoſing it on the world for the king's.

It is not eaſy to conceive the general compaſſion excited towards the king, by the publiſhing, at ſo critical a juncture, a work ſo full of piety, meekneſs, and humanity. Many have not ſcrupled to aſcribe to that book the ſubſequent reſtoration of the royal family. Milton compares its effects to thoſe which were wrought on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony's reading to them the will of Cæſar. The *Icon* paſſed through fifty editions in a twelvemonth; and independent of the great intereſt taken in it by the nation, as the ſuppoſed production of their murdered ſovereign, it muſt be acknowledged the beſt proſe compoſition, which, at the time of its publication, was to be found in the Engliſh language.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

CHAP. LX.

State of England——Of Scotland——Of Ireland——Levellers ſuppreſſed——Siege of Dublin raiſed——Tredah ſtormed——Covenanters——Montroſe taken priſoner——Executed——Covenanters——Battle of Dunbar——Of Worceſter——King's eſcape——The commonwealth——Dutch war——Diſſolution of the parliament.

CHAP. LX.

1649. State of England.

THE confuſions, which overſpread England after the murder of Charles I. proceeded as well from the ſpirit of refinement and innovation, which agitated the ruling party, as from the diſſolution of all that authority, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, by which the nation had ever been accuſtomed to be governed. Every man had framed the model of a republic; and, however new it was, or fantaſtical, he was eager in recommending it to his fellow citizens, or even impoſing it by force upon them. Every man had adjuſted a ſyſtem of religion, which, being derived from no traditional authority, was peculiar to himſelf; and being founded on ſuppoſed inſpiration, not on any principles of human reaſoning, had no means, beſides cant and low rhetoric, by which it could recommend itſelf to others. The levellers inſiſted on an equal diſtribution of property and power, and diſclaimed all dependance and ſubordination. The millenarians or fifth-monarchy-men required, that government itſelf ſhould be aboliſhed, and all human powers be laid in

CHAP. LX.

1649.

in the duſt, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Chriſt, whoſe ſecond coming on earth they ſuddenly expected. The Antinomians even inſiſted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were ſuſpended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle, more perfect and divine, were ſuperior to the *beggarly elements* of juſtice and humanity. A conſiderable party declaimed againſt tythes and a hireling prieſthood, and were reſolved, that the magiſtrate ſhould not ſupport by power or revenue any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Another party inveighed againſt the law and its profeſſors; and on pretence of rendering more ſimple the diſtribution of juſtice, were deſirous of aboliſhing the whole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence, which ſeemed interwoven with monarchical government. Even thoſe among the republicans, who adopted not ſuch extravagancies, were ſo intoxicated with their ſaintly character, that they ſuppoſed themſelves poſſeſſed of peculiar privileges; and all profeſſions, oaths, laws, and engagements had, in a great meaſure, loſt their influence over them. The bands of ſociety were every where looſened; and the irregular paſſions of men were encouraged by ſpeculative principles, ſtill more unſocial and irregular.

THE royaliſts, conſiſting of the nobles and more conſiderable gentry, being degraded from their authority and plundered of their property, were inflamed with the higheſt reſentment and indignation againſt thoſe ignoble adverſaries, who had reduced them to ſubjection. The preſbyterians, whoſe credit had firſt ſupported the arms of the parliament, were enraged to find, that, by the treachery or ſuperior cunning of their aſſociates, the fruits of all their ſucceſsful labours were raviſhed from them. The former party, from inclination and principle, zealouſly attached themſelves to the ſon of their unfortunate monarch, whoſe memory they reſpected, and

whoſe

whoſe tragical death they deplored. The latter caſt their eye towards the ſame object; but they had ſtill many prejudices to overcome, many fears and jealouſies to be allayed, ere they could cordially entertain thoughts of reſtoring that family, which they had ſo grievouſly offended, and whoſe principles they regarded with ſuch violent abhorrence. CHAP. LX. 1649.

THE only ſolid ſupport of the republican independent faction, which, though it formed ſo ſmall a part of the nation, had violently uſurped the government of the whole, was a numerous army of near fifty thouſand men. But this army, formidable from its diſcipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a ſpirit, that rendered it dangerous to the aſſembly, which had aſſumed the command over it. Accuſtomed to indulge every chimera in politics, every frenzy in religion, the ſoldiers knew little of the ſubordination of citizens, and had only learned, from apparent neceſſity, ſome maxims of military obedience. And while they ſtill maintained, that all thoſe enormous violations of law and equity, of which they had been guilty, were juſtified by the ſucceſs, with which providence had bleſſed them; they were ready to break out into any new diſorder, wherever they had the proſpect of a like ſanction and authority.

WHAT alone gave ſome ſtability to all theſe unſettled humours, was the great influence, both civil and military, acquired by Oliver Cromwel. This man, ſuited to the age in which he lived, and to that alone, was equally qualified to gain the affection and confidence of men, by what was mean, vulgar, and ridiculous in his character; as to command their obedience by what was great, daring, and enterprizing. Familiar even to buffoonery with the meaneſt centinel, he never loſt his authority: Tranſported to a degree of madneſs with religious extaſies, he never forgot the political purpoſes, to which

CHAP. LX. 1649.

which they might ſerve. Hating monarchy, while a ſubject; deſpiſing liberty, while a citizen; though he retained for a time all orders of men under a ſeeming obedience to the parliament; he was ſecretly paving the way, by artifice and courage, to his own unlimited authority.

THE parliament, for ſo we muſt henceforth call a ſmall and inconſiderable part of the houſe of commons, having murdered their ſovereign with ſo many appearing circumſtances of ſolemnity and juſtice, and ſo much real violence and even fury, began to aſſume more the air of a civil, legal power, and to enlarge a little the narrow bottom, upon which they ſtood. A few of the excluded and abſent members, ſuch as were liable to leaſt exception, were admitted; but on condition, that they ſhould ſign an approbation of whatever had been done in their abſence with regard to the king's trial: And ſome of them were willing to acquire a ſhare of power on ſuch terms: The greateſt part diſdained to lend their authority to ſuch apparent uſurpations. They iſſued ſome writs for new elections, in places where they hoped to have intereſt enough to bring in their own friends and dependants. They named a council of ſtate, thirty-eight in number, to whom all addreſſes were made, who gave orders to all generals and admirals, who executed the laws, and who digeſted all buſineſs before it was introduced into parliament [e]. They pretended to employ themſelves entirely in adjuſting the laws, forms, and plan of a new repreſentative; and as ſoon as they ſhould have ſettled the nation, they profeſſed their intention of

[e] Their names were, the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Saliſbury, lords Grey and Fairfax, Liſle, Rolles, St. John, Wilde, Bradſhaw, Cromwel, Skippon, Pickering, Maſſam, Haſelrig, Harrington, Vane jun. Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Conſtable, Pennington, Wilſon, Whitlocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Hevingham, Wallop, Hutchinſon, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Purefoy, Jones.

reſtoring

CHAP. LX.

restoring the power to the people, from whom, they acknowledged, they had entirely derived it.

1649.

The commonwealth found every thing in England composed into a seeming tranquillity by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themselves, had no leisure or inclination to interpose in the domestic dissensions of this island. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself, amidst his present distresses, with the hopes of better fortune. The situation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate inquietude to the new republic.

Of Scotland.

After the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, that party which was most averse to the interests of the royal family. Their enmity, however, against the independents, who had prevented the settlement of presbyterian discipline in England, carried them to embrace opposite maxims in their political conduct. Though invited by the English parliament to model their government into a republican form, they resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the express terms of their covenant, they had engaged to defend. They considered besides, that as the property of the kingdom lay mostly in the hands of great families, it would be difficult to establish a commonwealth, or without some chief magistrate, invested with royal authority, to preserve peace or justice in the community. The execution, therefore, of the king, against which they had always protested, having occasioned a vacancy of the throne, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor, Charles II.; but upon condition "of his good behaviour and strict observance "of the covenant, and his entertaining no other persons "about

CHAP. LX. 1649.

"about him but such as were godly men and faithful to "that obligation." These unusual clauses, inserted in the very first acknowledgement of their prince, sufficiently shewed their intention of limiting extremely his authority. And the English commonwealth, having no pretence to interpose in the affairs of that kingdom, allowed the Scots, for the present, to take their own measures in settling their government.

Of Ireland.

THE dominion, which England claimed over Ireland, demanded more immediately their efforts for subduing that country. In order to convey a just notion of Irish affairs, it will be necessary to look backwards some years, and to relate briefly those transactions, which had past during the memorable revolutions in England. When the late king agreed to that cessation of arms with the Popish rebels [f], which was become so requisite, as well for the security of the Irish protestants as for promoting his interests in England, the parliament, in order to blacken his conduct, reproached him with favouring that odious rebellion, and exclaimed loudly against the terms of the cessation. They even went so far as to declare it entirely null and invalid, because finished without their consent; and to this declaration the Scots in Ulster, and the earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munster, professed to adhere. By their means, the war was still kept alive; but as the dangerous distractions in England hindered the parliament from sending any considerable assistance to their allies in Ireland, Inchiquin concluded an accommodation with Ormond, whom the king had created lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. This latter nobleman, being a native of Ireland, and a person endowed with great prudence and virtue, formed a scheme for composing the disorders of his country, and for engaging the rebel Irish to support the cause of his

[f] 1643.

royal

royal master. There were many circumstances which strongly invited the natives of Ireland to embrace the king's party. The maxims of that prince had always led him to give a reasonable indulgence to the catholics throughout all his dominions; and one principal ground of that enmity, which the puritans professed against him, was this tacit toleration. The parliament, on the contrary, even when unprovoked, had ever menaced the papists with the most rigid restraint, if not a total extirpation; and immediately after the commencement of the Irish rebellion, they put to sale all the estates of the rebels, and had engaged the public faith for transferring them to the adventurers, who had already advanced money upon that security. The success, therefore, which the arms of the parliament met with at Naseby, struck a just terror into the Irish; and engaged the council of Kilkenny, composed of deputies from all the catholic counties and cities, to conclude a peace with the marquess of Ormond [g]. They professed to return to their duty and allegiance, engaged to furnish ten thousand men for the support of the king's authority in England, and were content with stipulating, in return, indemnity for their rebellion and toleration of their religion.

CHAP. LX. 1649.

ORMOND not doubting but a peace, so advantageous and even necessary to the Irish, would be strictly observed, advanced with a small body of troops to Kilkenny, in order to concert measures for common defence with his new allies. The pope had sent over to Ireland a nuncio, Rinuccini, an Italian; and this man, whose commission empowered him to direct the spiritual concerns of the Irish, was emboldened, by their ignorance and bigotry, to assume the chief authority in the civil government. Foreseeing that a general submission to the lord-lieutenant would put an end to his own influence,

[g] 1646.

CHAP. LX. 1649.

he conſpired with Owen Oneal, who commanded the native Iriſh in Ulſter, and who bore a great jealouſy to Preſton, the general chiefly truſted by the council of Kilkenny. By concert, theſe two malcontents ſecretly drew forces together, and were ready to fall on Ormond, who remained in ſecurity, truſting to the pacification ſo lately concluded with the rebels. He received intelligence of their treachery, made his retreat with celerity and conduct, and ſheltered his ſmall army in Dublin and the other fortified towns, which ſtill remained in the hands of the proteſtants.

THE nuncio, full of arrogance, levity, and ambition, was not contented with this violation of treaty. He ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare againſt that pacification, which the civil council had concluded with their ſovereign. He even thundered out a ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould adhere to a peace, ſo prejudicial, as he pretended, to the catholic religion; and the deluded Iriſh, terrified with his ſpiritual menaces, ranged themſelves every where on his ſide, and ſubmitted to his authority. Without ſcruple, he carried on war againſt the lord-lieutenant, and threatened with a ſiege the proteſtant garriſons, which were, all of them, very ill provided for defence.

MEANWHILE, the unfortunate king was neceſſitated to take ſhelter in the Scottiſh army; and being there reduced to cloſe confinement, and ſecluded from all commerce with his friends, deſpaired, that his authority, or even his liberty, would ever be reſtored to him. He ſent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himſelf, rather to ſubmit to the Engliſh than the Iriſh rebels; and accordingly the lord-lieutenant, being reduced to extremity, delivered up Dublin, Tredah, Dundalk, and other garriſons to colonel Michael Jones, who took poſſeſſion of them

them in the name of the Engliſh parliament. Ormond himſelf went over to England, was admitted into the king's preſence, received a grateful acknowledgement for his paſt ſervices, and during ſome time lived in tranquillity near London. But being baniſhed, with the other royaliſts, to a diſtance from that city, and ſeeing every event turn out unfortunately for his royal maſter, and threaten him with a cataſtrophe ſtill more direful, he thought proper to retire into France, where he joined the queen and the prince of Wales.

In Ireland, during theſe tranſactions, the authority of the nuncio prevailed without controul among all the catholics; and that prelate, by his indiſcretion and inſolence, ſoon made them repent of the power, with which they had entruſted him. Prudent men likewiſe were ſenſible of the total deſtruction, which was hanging over the nation from the Engliſh parliament, and ſaw no reſource or ſafety but in giving ſupport to the declining authority of the king. The earl of Clanricarde, a nobleman of an ancient family, a perſon too of merit, who had ever preſerved his loyalty, was ſenſible of the ruin which threatened his countrymen, and was reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent it. He ſecretly formed a combination among the catholics; he entered into a correſpondence with Inchiquin, who preſerved great authority over the proteſtants in Munſter; he attacked the nuncio, whom he chaced out of the iſland; and he ſent to Paris a deputation, inviting the lord lieutenant to return and take poſſeſſion of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, found the kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or ſecret enmity prevailed. The authority of the Engliſh parliament was eſtabliſhed in Dublin, and the other towns, which he himſelf had delivered into their hands. Oneale maintained his credit in Ulſter; and

CHAP. LX.

1649.

having entered into a secret correspondence with the parliamentary generals, was more intent on schemes for his own personal safety than anxious for the preservation of his country or religion. The other Irish, divided between their clergy, who were averse to Ormond, and their nobility, who were attached to him, were very uncertain in their motions and feeble in their measures. The Scots in the north, enraged, as well as their other countrymen, against the usurpations of the sectarian army, professed their adherence to the king; but were still hindered by many prejudices from entering into a cordial union with his lieutenant. All these distracted councils and contrary humors checked the progress of Ormond, and enabled the parliamentary forces in Ireland to maintain their ground against him. The republican faction, meanwhile, in England, employed in subduing the revolted royalists, in reducing the parliament to subjection, in the trial, condemnation, and execution of their sovereign, totally neglected the supplying of Ireland, and allowed Jones and the forces in Dublin to remain in the utmost weakness and necessity. The lord lieutenant, though surrounded with difficulties, neglected not the favourable opportunity of promoting the royal cause. Having at last assembled an army of 16,000 men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied against their governor. Tredah, Neury, and other forts were taken. Dublin was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lieutenant appeared in so prosperous a condition, that the young king entertained thoughts of coming in person into Ireland.

When the English commonwealth was brought to some tolerable settlement, men began to cast their eyes towards the neighbouring island. During the contest of the two parties, the government of Ireland had remained

a great

a great object of intrigue; and the presbyterians endea- CHAP. LX.
voured to obtain the lieutenancy for Waller, the inde- 1649.
pendents for Lambert. After the execution of the king, Cromwel himself began to aspire to a command, where so much glory, he saw, might be won, and so much authority acquired. In his absence, he took care to 15th March.
have his name proposed to the council of state; and both friends and enemies concurred immediately to vote him into that important office: The former suspected, that the matter had not been proposed merely by chance, without his own concurrence; the latter desired to remove him to a distance, and hoped, during his absence, to gain the ascendant over Fairfax, whom he had so long blinded by his hypocritical professions. Cromwel himself, when informed of his election, feigned surprize, and pretended at first to hesitate with regard to the acceptance of the command. And Lambert, either deceived by his dissimulation, or, in his turn, feigning to be deceived, still continued, notwithstanding this disappointment, his friendship and connexions with Cromwel.

The new lieutenant immediately applied himself with his wonted vigilance to make preparations for his expedition. Many disorders in England it behoved him previously to compose. All places were full of danger and inquietude. Though men, astonished with the successes of the army, remained in seeming tranquillity, symptoms of the highest discontent every where appeared. The English, long accustomed to a mild administration, and unacquainted with dissimulation, could not conform their speech and countenance to the present necessity, or pretend attachment to a form of government, which they generally regarded with such violent abhorrence. It was requisite to change the magistracy of London, and to degrade, as well as punish, the mayor and some of the aldermen, before the proclamation for the abolition of

CHAP. LX. 1649.

monarchy could be publiſhed in the city. An engagement being framed to ſupport the commonwealth without king or houſe of peers, the army was with ſome difficulty brought to ſubſcribe it; but though it was impoſed upon the reſt of the nation under ſevere penalties, no leſs than putting all who refuſed out of the protection of law; ſuch obſtinate reluctance was obſerved in the people, that even the imperious parliament was obliged to deſiſt from it. The ſpirit of fanaticiſm, by which that aſſembly had at firſt been ſtrongly ſupported, was now turned, in a great meaſure, againſt them. The pulpits, being chiefly filled with preſbyterians, or diſguiſed royaliſts, and having been long the ſcene of news and politics, could by no penalties be reſtrained from declarations, unfavourable to the eſtabliſhed government. Numberleſs were the extravagances, which broke out among the people. Everard, a diſbanded ſoldier, having preached that the time was now come when the community of goods would be renewed among chriſtians, led out his followers to take poſſeſſion of the land; and being carried before the general, he refuſed to ſalute him; becauſe he was but his fellow creature [h]. What ſeemed more dangerous: The army itſelf was infected with like humours [i]. Though the levellers had for a time been ſuppreſſed by the audacious ſpirit of Cromwel, they ſtill continued to propagate their doctrines among the private men and inferior officers, who pretended a right to be conſulted, as before, in the adminiſtration of the commonwealth. They now practiſed againſt their officers the ſame leſſon, which they had been taught againſt the parliament. They framed a remonſtrance, and ſent five agitators to preſent it to the general and council of war: Theſe were caſhiered with ignominy by ſentence of a court martial. One Lockier, having carried his ſedition farther, was ſentenced to death;

h Whitlocke.

i See note [G] at the end of the volume.

but

but this punishment was so far from quelling the mutinous spirit, that above a thousand of his companions showed their adherence to him, by attending his funeral, and wearing in their hats black and sea-green ribbons by way of favours. About four thousand assembled at Burford under the command of Thomson, a man formerly condemned for sedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the general. Colonel Reynolds, and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwel, fell upon them, while unprepared for defence, and seduced by the appearance of a treaty. Four hundred were taken prisoners: Some of them capitally punished: The rest pardoned: And this tumultuous spirit, though it still lurked in the army, and broke out from time to time, seemed for the present to be suppressed.

CHAP. LX. 1649.

Levellers suppressed.

May.

Petitions, framed in the same spirit of opposition, were presented to the parliament by lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, the person who, for dispersing seditious pamphlets, had formerly been treated with such severity by the star-chamber. His liberty was at this time as ill relished by the parliament, and he was thrown into prison, as a promoter of sedition and disorder in the commonwealth. The women applied by petition for his release; but were now desired to mind their household affairs, and leave the government of the state to the men. From all quarters, the parliament was harrassed with petitions of a very free nature, which strongly spoke the sense of the nation, and proved how ardently all men longed for the restoration of their laws and liberties. Even in a feast, which the city gave to the parliament and council of state, it was esteemed a requisite precaution, if we may credit Walker and Dugdale, to swear all the cooks, that they would serve nothing but wholesome food to them.

The parliament judged it necessary to enlarge the laws of high-treason beyond those narrow bounds, within

CHAP. LX. 1649

which they had been confined during the monarchy. They even comprehended verbal offences, nay intentions, though they had never appeared in any overt-act againſt the ſtate. To affirm the preſent government to be an uſurpation, to aſſert that the parliament or council of ſtate were tyrannical or illegal, to endeavour ſubverting their authority or ſtirring up ſedition againſt them; theſe offences were declared to be high-treaſon. The power of impriſonment, of which the petition of right had bereaved the king, it was now found requiſite to reſtore to the council of ſtate; and all the jails in England were filled with men whom the jealouſies and fears of the ruling party had repreſented as dangerous [k]. The taxes, continued by the new government, and which, being unuſual, were eſteemed heavy, encreaſed the general ill will, under which it laboured. Beſides the cuſtoms and exciſe, ninety thouſand pounds a month were levied on land for the ſubſiſtance of the army. The ſequeſtrations and compoſitions of the royaliſts, the ſale of the crown lands, and of the dean and chapter lands, though they yielded great ſums, were not ſufficient to ſupport the vaſt expences, and, as was ſuſpected, the great depredations, of the parliament and of their creatures [l].

AMIDST all theſe difficulties and diſturbances, the ſteddy mind of Cromwel, without confuſion or embarraſſment, ſtill purſued its purpoſe. While he was collecting an army of twelve thouſand men in the weſt of England, he ſent to Ireland, under Reynolds and Venables, a reinforcement of four thouſand horſe and foot, in order to ſtrengthen Jones, and enable him to defend himſelf againſt the marqueſs of Ormond, who lay at Finglaſs, and was making preparations for the attack of Dublin. Inchiquin, with a ſeparate body, having taken

[k] Hiſtory of Independency, part II. p. 136, 176.

[l] Parl. Hiſtory, vol. xix.

Tredah

Tredah and Dundalk, gave a defeat to Offarrell who served under Oneal, and to young Coot who commanded some parliamentary forces. After he had joined his troops to the main army, with whom, for some time, he remained united, Ormond passed the river Liffy, and took post at Rathmines, two miles from Dublin, with a view of commencing the siege of that city. In order to cut off all farther supply from Jones, he had begun the reparation of an old fort, which lay at the gates of Dublin; and being exhausted with continual fatigue for some days, he had retired to rest, after leaving orders to keep his forces under arms. He was suddenly awaked with the noise of firing; and starting from his bed, saw every thing already in tumult and confusion. Jones, an excellent officer, formerly a lawyer, had sallied out with the reinforcement newly arrived; and attacking the party employed in repairing the fort, he totally routed them, pursued the advantage, and fell in with the army, which had neglected Ormond's orders. These he soon threw into disorder; put them to flight, in spite of all the efforts of the lord lieutenant; chaced them off the field; seized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing four thousand men, and taking above two thousand prisoners [m].

CHAP. LX. 1649.

2d August.

Siege of Dublin raised.

This loss, which threw some blemish on the military character of Ormond, was irreparable to the royal cause. That numerous army, which, with so much pains and difficulty, the lord lieutenant had been collecting for more than a year, was dispersed in a moment. Cromwel soon after arrived in Dublin, where he was welcomed with shouts and rejoicings. He hastened to Tredah. That town was well fortified: Ormond had thrown into it a good garrison of three thousand men, under Sir Arthur Aston, an officer of reputation. He expected that

[m] Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 165.

Tredah,

CHAP. LX.

1649.

Tredah, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin, would first be attempted by Cromwel, and he was desirous to employ the enemy some time in that siege, while he himself should repair his broken forces. But Cromwel knew the importance of dispatch. Having made a breach, he ordered a general assault. Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed the attack, and himself, along with Ireton, led on his men. All opposition was overborne by the furious valour of the troops. The town was taken sword in hand; and orders being issued to give no quarter, a cruel slaughter was made of the garrison. Even a few, who were saved by the soldiers, satiated with blood, were next day miserably butchered by orders from the general. One person alone of the garrison escaped to be a messenger of this universal havoc and destruction.

September. Tredah stormed.

CROMWEL pretended to retaliate by this severe execution the cruelty of the Irish massacre: But he well knew, that almost the whole garrison was English; and his justice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all other garrisons from resistance. His policy, however, had the desired effect. Having led the army without delay to Wexford, he began to batter the town. The garrison after a slight defence offered to capitulate; but before they obtained a cessation, they imprudently neglected their guards; and the English army rushed in upon them. The same severity was exercised as at Tredah.

EVERY town, before which Cromwel presented himself, now opened its gates without resistance. Ross, though strongly garrisoned, was surrendered by lord Taffe. Having taken Estionage; Cromwel threw a bridge over the Barrow, and made himself master of Passage and Carric. Owen Oneal submitted at discretion, and soon after died. The English had no farther difficulties to encounter but what arose from fatigue and the

October.

the advanced ſeaſon. Fluxes and contagious diſtempers crept in among the ſoldiers, who periſhed in great numbers. Jones himſelf, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwel had ſo far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to ſubſiſt in the enemies country, or retreat to his own garriſons. But while he was in theſe ſtraits, Corke, Kinſale, and all the Engliſh garriſons in Munſter deſerted to him, and opening their gates reſolved to ſhare the fortunes of their victorious countrymen. CHAP. LX. 1649. November.

THIS deſertion of the Engliſh put an end to Ormond's authority, which was already much diminiſhed by the misfortunes of Dublin, Tredah and Wexford. The Iriſh, actuated by national and religious prejudices, could no longer be kept in obedience by a proteſtant governor, who was ſo unſucceſsful in all his enterprizes. The clergy renewed their excommunications againſt him and his adherents, and added the terrors of ſuperſtition to thoſe which aroſe from a victorious enemy. Cromwel having received a reinforcement from England, again took the field early in the ſpring. After a ſiege, he made himſelf maſter of Kilkenny, the only place where he met with any vigorous reſiſtance. The whole frame of the Iriſh union being in a manner diſſolved, Ormond, ſoon after, left the iſland, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs ſo deſperate as to admit of no remedy. The Iriſh were glad to embrace baniſhment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men paſſed into foreign ſervice; and Cromwel, well-pleaſed to free the iſland from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the Engliſh, gave them full liberty and leiſure for their embarkation.

WHILE Cromwel proceeded with ſuch uninterrupted ſucceſs in Ireland, which in the ſpace of nine months he had almoſt entirely ſubdued, fortune was preparing for him

CHAP. LX.

1649.

him a new ſcene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague, when Sir Joſeph Douglas brought him intelligence, that he was proclaimed king by the Scottiſh parliament. At the ſame time, Douglas informed him of the hard conditions annexed to the proclamation, and damped extremely that joy, which might ariſe from his being recognized ſovereign in one of his kingdoms. Charles too conſidered, that thoſe who pretended to acknowledge his title, were at that very time in actual rebellion againſt his family, and would be ſure to intruſt very little authority in his hands, and ſcarcely would afford him perſonal liberty and ſecurity. As the proſpect of affairs in Ireland was at that time not unpromiſing, he intended rather to try his fortune in that kingdom, from which he expected more dutiful ſubmiſſion and obedience.

MEANWHILE he found it expedient to depart from Holland. The people in the United Provinces were much attached to his intereſts. Beſides his connexion with the family of Orange, which was extremely beloved by the populace, all men regarded with compaſſion his helpleſs condition, and expreſſed the greateſt abhorrence againſt the murder of his father; a deed, to which nothing, they thought, but the rage of fanaticiſm and faction could have impelled the parliament. But though the public in general bore great favour to the king, the States were uneaſy at his preſence. They dreaded the parliament, ſo formidable by their power, and ſo proſperous in all their enterprizes. They apprehended the moſt precipitate reſolutions from men of ſuch violent and haughty diſpoſitions. And after the murder of Doriſlaus, they found it ſtill more neceſſary to ſatisfy the Engliſh commonwealth, by removing the king to a diſtance from them.

DORISLAUS,

CHAP. LX. 1650.

DORISLAUS, though a native of Holland, had lived long in England; and being employed as assistant to the high court of justice, which condemned the late king, he had risen to great credit and favour with the ruling party. They sent him envoy to Holland; but no sooner had he arrived at the Hague, than he was set upon by some royalists, chiefly retainers to Montrose. They rushed into the room, where he was sitting with some company; dragged him from the table; put him to death as the first victim to their murdered sovereign; very leisurely and peaceably separated themselves; and though orders were issued by the magistrates to arrest them, these were executed with such slowness and reluctance, that the criminals had, all of them, the opportunity of making their escape.

CHARLES, having passed some time at Paris, where no assistance was given him, and even few civilities were paid him, made his retreat into Jersey, where his authority was still acknowledged. Here, Winram, laird of Liberton, came to him as deputy from the committee of estates in Scotland, and informed him of the conditions, to which he must necessarily submit before he could be admitted to the exercise of his authority. Conditions more severe were never imposed by subjects upon their sovereign; but as the affairs of Ireland began extremely to decline, and the king found it no longer safe to venture himself in that island, he gave a civil answer to Winram, and desired commissioners to meet him at Breda, in order to enter into a treaty with regard to these conditions.

Covenanters.

THE earls of Cassilis and Lothian, the lord Burley, the laird of Liberton and other commissioners arrived at Breda; but without any power of treating: The king must submit without reserve to the terms imposed upon him. The terms were, that he should issue a proclamation,

CHAP. LX.

1650.

tion, baniſhing from court all excommunicated perſons, that is, all thoſe, who, either under Hamilton or Montroſe, had ventured their lives for his family; that no Engliſh ſubject, who had ſerved againſt the parliament, ſhould be allowed to approach him; that he ſhould bind himſelf by his royal promiſe to take the covenant; that he ſhould ratify all acts of parliament, by which preſbyterian government, the directory of worſhip, the confeſſion of faith and the catechiſm were eſtabliſhed; and that in civil affairs he ſhould conform himſelf entirely to the direction of parliament and in eccleſiaſtical to that of the aſſembly. Theſe propoſals, the commiſſioners, after paſſing ſome time in ſermons and prayers, in order to expreſs the more determined reſolution, very ſolemnly delivered to the king.

THE king's friends were divided with regard to the part, which he ſhould act in this critical conjuncture. Moſt of his Engliſh counſellors diſſuaded him from accepting conditions, ſo diſadvantageous and diſhonourable. They ſaid, that the men, who now governed Scotland, were the moſt furious and bigotted of that party, which, notwithſtanding his gentle government, had firſt excited a rebellion againſt the late king; after the moſt unlimited conceſſions, had renewed their rebellion, and ſtopped the progreſs of his victories in England; and after he had entruſted his perſon to them in his uttermoſt diſtreſs, had baſely ſold him, together with their own honour, to his barbarous enemies: That they had as yet ſhown no marks of repentance, and even in the terms, which they now propoſed, diſplayed the ſame antimonarchical principles, and the ſame jealouſy of their ſovereign, by which they had ever been actuated: That nothing could be more diſhonourable, than that the king, in his firſt enterprize, ſhould ſacrifice, merely for the empty name of royalty, thoſe principles, for which his father had died a martyr,

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and in which he himſelf had been ſtrictly educated: That by this hypocriſy he might loſe the royaliſts, who alone were ſincerely attached to him; but never would gain the preſbyterians, who were averſe to his family and his cauſe, and would aſcribe his compliance merely to policy and neceſſity: That the Scots had refuſed to give him any aſſurances of their intending to reſtore him to the throne of England; and could they even be engaged to make ſuch an attempt, it had ſufficiently appeared, by the event of Hamilton's engagement, how unequal their force was to ſo great an enterprize: That on the firſt check, which they ſhould receive, Argyle and his partizans would lay hold of the quickeſt expedient for reconciling themſelves to the Engliſh parliament, and would betray the king, as they had done his father, into the hands of his enemies: And that, however deſperate the royal cauſe, it muſt ſtill be regarded as highly imprudent in the king to make a ſacrifice of his honour; where the ſole purchaſe was to endanger his life or liberty. CHAP. LX. 1650.

THE earl of Laneric, now duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party, who had been baniſhed their country for the late engagement, were then with the king; and being deſirous of returning home in his retinue, they joined the opinion of the young duke of Buckingham, and earneſtly preſſed him to ſubmit to the conditions required of him. It was urged, that nothing would more gratify the king's enemies than to ſee him fall into the ſnare laid for him, and by ſo ſcrupulous a nicety, leave the poſſeſſion of his dominions to thoſe who deſired but a pretence for excluding him: That Argyle, not daring ſo far to oppoſe the bent of the nation as to throw off all allegiance to his ſovereign, had embraced this expedient, by which he hoped to make Charles dethrone himſelf, and refuſe a kingdom, which was offered him: That it was not to be doubted, but the ſame national

CHAP. LX. 1650.

national spirit, assisted by Hamilton and his party, would rise still higher in favour of their prince after he had entrusted himself to their fidelity, and would much abate the rigor of the conditions, now imposed upon him: That whatever might be the present intentions of the ruling party, they must unavoidably be engaged in a war with England, and must accept the assistance of the king's friends of all parties, in order to support themselves against a power, so much superior: That how much soever a steddy, uniform conduct might have been suitable to the advanced age, and strict engagements of the late king, no one would throw any blame on a young prince for complying with conditions, which necessity had extorted from him: That even the rigour of those principles, professed by his father, though with some it had exalted his character, had been extremely prejudicial to his interest; nor could any thing be more serviceable to the royal cause than to give all parties room to hope for more equal and more indulgent maxims of government: And that where affairs were reduced to so desperate a situation, dangers ought little to be regarded; and the king's honour lay rather in showing some early symptoms of courage and activity, than in choosing strictly a party among theological controversies, with which, it might be supposed, he was, as yet, very little acquainted.

THESE arguments, seconded by the advice of the queen and of the prince of Orange, the king's brother in law, who both of them esteemed it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom, merely from regard to episcopacy, had great influence on Charles. But what chiefly determined him to comply was the account brought him of the fate of Montrose, who, with all the circumstances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen. Though in this instance the king saw more evidently the furious spirit, by which the Scots were actuated, he had now no farther

1650.

farther resource, and was obliged to grant whatever was demanded of him.

MONTROSE, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired into France, and, contrary to his natural disposition, had lived for some time unactive at Paris. He there became acquainted with the famous cardinal de Retz; and that penetrating judge celebrates him in his memoirs as one of those heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch. Desirous of improving his martial genius, he took a journey to Germany, was caressed by the emperor, received the rank of mareschal, and proposed to levy a regiment for the imperial service. While employed for that purpose in the low countries, he heard of the tragical death of the king; and at the same time received from his young master a renewal of his commission of captain general in Scotland [n]. His ardent and daring spirit needed but this authority to put him in action. He gathered followers in Holland and the north of Germany, whom his great reputation allured to him. The king of Denmark and duke of Holstein sent him some small supplies of money: The queen of Sweden furnished him with arms: The prince of Orange with ships: And Montrose, hastening his enterprize, lest the king's agreement with the Scots should make him revoke his commission, set out for the Orkneys with about 500 men, most of them Germans. These were all the preparations, which he could make against a kingdom, settled in domestic peace, supported by a disciplined army, fully apprized of his enterprize, and prepared against him. Some of his retainers having told him of a prophesy, that *to him and him alone it was reserved to restore the king's authority in all his dominions*; he lent a willing ear to suggestions, which, however ill

[n] Burnet, Clarendon.

CHAP. LX.

1650.

grounded or improbable, were so conformable to his own magnanimous disposition.

He armed several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, though an unwarlike people, and carried them over with him to Caithness; hoping, that the general affection to the king's service, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the Highlanders flock to his standard. But all men were now harrassed and fatigued with wars and disorders: Many of those, who formerly adhered to him, had been severely punished by the covenanters: And no prospect of success was entertained in opposition to so great a force as was drawn together against him. But however weak Montrose's army, the memory of past events struck a great terror into the committee of estates. They immediately ordered Lesley and Holborne to march against him with an army of 4000 men. Strahan was sent before with a body of cavalry to check his progress. He fell unexpectedly on Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The royalists were put to flight; all of them either killed or taken prisoners; and Montrose himself, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies, by a friend, to whom he had entrusted his person.

Montrose taken prisoner.

All the insolence, which success can produce in ungenerous minds, was exercised by the covenanters against Montrose, whom they so much hated and so much dreaded. Theological antipathy farther encreased their indignities towards a person, whom they regarded as impious on account of the excommunication, which had been pronounced against him. Lesley led him about for several days in the same low habit, under which he had disguised himself. The vulgar, wherever he passed, were instigated to reproach and vilify him. When he came to Edinburgh, every circumstance of elaborate rage and insult was put in practice by order of the parliament. At

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the eaſtern gate of the city, he was met by the magiſtrates, and put into a new cart, purpoſely made with a high chair or bench, where he was placed, that the people might have a full view of him. He was bound with a cord, drawn over his breaſt and ſhoulders, and faſtened through holes made in the cart. The hangman then took off the hat of the noble priſoner, and rode himſelf before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken priſoners with the marqueſs, walking two and two before them

CHAP. LX. 1650.

THE populace, more generous and humane, when they ſaw ſo mighty a change of fortune in this great man, ſo lately their dread and terror, into whoſe hands the magiſtrates, a few years before, had delivered on their knees the keys of the city, were ſtruck with compaſſion, and viewed him with ſilent tears and admiration. The preachers, next Sunday, exclaimed againſt this movement of rebel nature, as they termed it; and reproached the people with their profane tenderneſs towards the capital enemy of piety and religion.

WHEN he was carried before the parliament, which was then ſitting, Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the breach of the national covenant, which he had ſubſcribed; his rebellion againſt God, the king, and the kingdom; and the many horrible murders, treaſons, and impieties, for which he was now to be brought to condign puniſhment. Montroſe in his anſwer maintained the ſame ſuperiority above his enemies, to which, by his fame and great actions, as well as by the conſcience of a good cauſe, he was juſtly entitled. He told the parliament, that, ſince the king, as he was informed, had ſo far avowed their authority as to enter into treaty with them, he now appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a reſpect, which, while they

CHAP. LX. 1650.

ſtood in open defiance to their ſovereign, they would in vain have required of him. That he acknowledged, with infinite ſhame and remorſe, the errors of his early conduct, when their plauſible pretences had ſeduced him to tread with them the paths of rebellion, and bear arms againſt his prince and country. That his following ſervices, he hoped, had ſufficiently teſtified his repentance; and his death would now atone for that guilt, the only one with which he could juſtly reproach himſelf. That in all his warlike enterprizes he was warranted by that commiſſion, which he had received from his and their maſter, againſt whoſe lawful authority they had erected their ſtandard. That to venture his life for his ſovereign was the leaſt part of his merit: He had even thrown down his arms in obedience to the ſacred commands of the king; and had reſigned to them the victory, which, in defiance of all their efforts, he was ſtill enabled to diſpute with them. That no blood had ever been ſhed by him but in the field of battle; and many perſons were now in his eye, many now dared to pronounce ſentence of death upon him, whoſe life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly ſaved from the fury of the ſoldiers. That he was ſorry to find no better teſtimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of ſo faithful a ſubject, in whoſe death the king's commiſſion muſt be, at once, ſo highly injured and affronted. That as to himſelf, they had in vain endeavoured to vilify and degrade him by all their ſtudied indignities: The juſtice of his cauſe, he knew, would ennoble any fortune; nor had he other affliction than to ſee the authority of his prince, with which he was inveſted, treated with ſo much ignominy. And that he now joyfully followed, by a like unjuſt ſentence, his late ſovereign; and ſhould be happy, if, in his future deſtiny, he could follow him to the ſame bliſsful

blisful mansions, where his piety and humane virtues had already, without doubt, secured him an eternal recompence. CHAP. LX. 1650.

MONTROSE's sentence was next pronounced against him, "That he, James Graham" (for this was the only name they vouchsafed to give him) "should next day be "carried to Edinburgh cross, and there be hanged on a "gibbet, thirty feet high, for the space of three hours: "Then be taken down, his head be cut off upon a scaf- "fold, and affixed to the prison: His legs and arms be "stuck up on the four chief towns of the kingdom: His "body be buried in the place appropriated for common "malefactors; except the church, upon his repentance, "should take off his excommunication."

THE clergy, hoping, that the terrors of immediate death had now given them an advantage over their enemy, flocked about him, and insulted over his fallen fortunes. They pronounced his damnation, and assured him, that the judgment, which he was so soon to suffer, would prove but an easy prologue to that which he must undergo hereafter. They next offered to pray with him: But he was too well acquainted with those forms of imprecation, which they called prayers. "Lord, vouch- "safe yet to touch the obdurate heart of this proud in- "corrigible sinner; this wicked, perjured, traiterous, "and profane person, who refuses to hearken to the "voice of thy church." Such were the petitions, which, he expected, they would, according to custom, offer up for him. He told them, that they were a miserably deluded and deluding people; and would shortly bring their country under the most insupportable servitude, to which any nation had ever been reduced. "For "my part," added he, "I am much prouder to have "my head affixed to the place, where it is sentenced to "stand, than to have my picture hang in the king's

CHAP. LX.

1650. "bed-chamber. So far from being ſorry, that my legs "and arms are to be ſent to four cities of the kingdom; "I wiſh I had limbs enow to be diſperſed into all the "cities of Chriſtendom, there to remain as teſtimonies "in favour of the cauſe, for which I ſuffer." This ſentiment, that very evening, while in priſon, he threw into verſe. The poem remains; a ſignal monument of his heroic ſpirit, and no deſpicable proof of his poetical genius.

21ſt May. Now was led forth, amidſt the inſults of his enemies and the tears of the people, this man of illuſtrious birth and of the greateſt renown in the nation, to ſuffer, for his adhering to the laws of his country, and the rights of his ſovereign, the ignominious death deſtined to the meaneſt malefactor. Every attempt, which the inſolence of the governing party had made to ſubdue his ſpirit, had hitherto proved fruitleſs: They made yet one effort more, in this laſt and melancholy ſcene, when all enmity, ariſing from motives merely human, is commonly ſoftened and diſarmed. The executioner brought that book, which had been publiſhed in elegant Latin of his great military actions, and tied it by a cord about his neck. Montroſe ſmiled at this new inſtance of their malice. He thanked them, however, for their officious zeal; and ſaid, that he bore this teſtimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worne the garter. Having aſked, whether they had any more indignities to put upon him, and renewing ſome devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the laſt act of the executioner.

Executed.

THUS periſhed, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, the gallant marqueſs of Montroſe; the man whoſe military genius, both by valour and conduct, had ſhone forth beyond any, which, during theſe civil diſorders, had appeared in the three kingdoms. The finer arts too, he had,

had, in his youth, ſucceſsfully cultivated; and whatever was ſublime, elegant, or noble touched his great ſoul. Nor was he inſenſible to the pleaſures either of ſociety or of love. Something, however, of the *vaſt* and *unbounded* characterized his actions and deportment; and it was merely by an heroic effort of duty, that he brought his mind, impatient of ſuperiority, and even of equality, to pay ſuch unlimited ſubmiſſion to the will of his ſovereign. CHAP. LX. 1650.

THE vengeance of the covenanters was not ſatisfied with Montroſe's execution. Urrey, whoſe inconſtancy now led him to take part with the king, ſuffered about the ſame time: Spotiſwood of Daerſie, a youth of eighteen, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetie, and colonel Sibbald, all of them men of birth and character, underwent a like fate. Theſe were taken priſoners with Montroſe. The marqueſs of Huntley, about a year before, had alſo fallen a victim to the ſeverity of the covenanters.

THE paſt ſcene diſplays in a full light the barbarity of this theological faction: The ſequel will ſufficiently diſplay their abſurdity.

THE king, in conſequence of his agreement with the commiſſioners of Scotland, ſet ſail for that country; and being eſcorted by ſeven Dutch ſhips of war, who were ſent to guard the herring fiſhery, he arrived in the frith of Cromarty. Before he was permitted to land, he was required to ſign the covenant; and many ſermons and lectures were made him, exhorting him to perſevere in that holy confederacy [o]. Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumfermling, and other noblemen of that faction whom they called Engagers, were immediately ſeparated from him, and obliged to retire to their houſes, where they lived in a private manner, without truſt or authority. None of his Engliſh friends, who had ſerved his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom. The king himſelf 23d June. Covenanters.

[o] Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 159.

CHAP. LX.

1650.

found, that he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and that the few remains of royalty, which he possessed, served only to draw on him the greater indignities. One of the quarters of Montrose, his faithful servant, who had borne his commission, had been sent to Aberdeen, and was still allowed to hang over the gates when he passed by that place [p]. The general assembly, and afterwards the committee of estates and the army, who were entirely governed by the assembly, set forth a public declaration, in which they protested, "that they did not "espouse any malignant quarrel or party, but fought "merely on their former grounds or principles; that "they disclaimed all the sins and guilt of the king, and "of his house; nor would they own him or his interest, "otherwise than with a subordination to God, and so "far as he owned and prosecuted the cause of God, and "acknowledged the sins of his house, and of his former "ways [q]."

THE king, lying entirely at mercy, and having no assurance of liberty or life, farther than was agreeable to the fancy of these austere zealots, was constrained to embrace a measure, which nothing but the necessity of his affairs, and his great youth and inexperience could excuse. He issued a declaration, such as they required

16th Aug.

of him [r]. He there gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of providence, by which he was recovered from the snare of evil counsel, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the covenant, and was induced to cast himself and his interest wholly upon God. He desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's following wicked measures, opposing the covenant and the work of reformation, and shedding the blood of God's people throughout all his dominions.

[p] Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 160.
[q] Ibid. p. 166, 167. [r] Ibid. p. 170.

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He lamented the idolatry of his mother and the toleration of it in his father's houſe; a matter of great offence, he ſaid, to all the proteſtant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, viſiting the ſins of the father upon the children. He profeſſed, that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he deteſted all popery, ſuperſtition, prelacy, hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs; and was reſolved not to tolerate, much leſs to countenance, any of them in any of his dominions. He declared, that he ſhould never love or favour thoſe who had ſo little conſcience as to follow his intereſts, in preference to the goſpel and the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. And he expreſſed his hope, that, whatever ill ſucceſs his former guilt might have drawn upon his cauſe, yet now, having obtained mercy to be on God's ſide, and to acknowledge his own cauſe ſubordinate to that of God, divine providence would crown his arms with victory. CHAP. LX. 1650.

STILL the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of the king's ſincerity. The facility, which he diſcovered in yielding to whatever was required of him, made them ſuſpect, that he regarded all his conceſſions merely as ridiculous farces, to which he muſt of neceſſity ſubmit. They had another trial prepared for him. Inſtead of the ſolemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were reſolved, that he ſhould paſs through a public humiliation, and do penance before the whole people. They ſent him twelve articles of repentance, which he was to acknowledge; and the king had agreed, that he would ſubmit to this indignity. The various tranſgreſſions of his father and grandfather, together with the idolatry of his mother, are again enumerated and aggravated in theſe articles; and farther declarations were inſiſted on, that he ſought the reſtitution of his rights, for the ſole advancement of religion, and in ſubordination to the

CHAP. LX. 1650.

the kingdom of Christ [s]. In short, having exalted the altar above the throne, and brought royalty under their feet, the clergy were resolved to trample on it and vilify it, by every instance of contumely, which their present influence enabled them to impose upon their unhappy prince.

CHARLES in the mean time found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure. He was not called to assist at any councils. His favour was sufficient to discredit any pretender to office or advancement. All efforts, which he made to unite the opposite parties, encreased the suspicion, which the covenanters had entertained of him, as if he was not entirely their own. Argyle, who, by subtilties and compliances, partly led and partly was governed by this wild faction, still turned a deaf ear to all advances, which the king made to enter into confidence with him. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be the objects of general hatred and persecution; and whoever was obnoxious to the clergy, failed not to have one or other of these epithets affixed to him. The fanaticism, which prevailed, being so full of sour and angry principles, and so overcharged with various antipathies, had acquired a new object of abhorrence: These were the *Sorcerers*. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers, accused of that crime, were burnt by sentence of the magistrates throughout all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwic, which contained only fourteen houses, fourteen persons were punished by fire [t]; and it became a science, every where much studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper trials and symptoms [u].

[s] Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 178.

[t] Whitlocke, p. 434, 408. [u] Ibid. p. 396, 418.

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CHAP. LX. 1650.

THE advance of the Engliſh army under Cromwel was not able to appeaſe or ſoften the animoſities among the parties in Scotland. The clergy were ſtill reſolute to exclude all but their moſt zealous adherents. So ſoon as the Engliſh parliament found, that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war, which, they ſaw, would, in the end, prove inevitable. Cromwel having broken the force and courage of the Iriſh, was ſent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton, who governed that kingdom in the character of deputy, and with vigilance and induſtry perſevered in the work of ſubduing and expelling the natives.

IT was expected, that Fairfax, who ſtill retained the name of general, would continue to act againſt Scotland, and appear at the head of the forces; a ſtation for which he was well qualified, and where alone he made any figure. But Fairfax, though he had allowed the army to make uſe of his name in murdering their ſovereign, and offering violence to the parliament, had entertained unſurmountable ſcruples againſt invading the Scots, whom he conſidered as zealous preſbyterians, and united to England by the ſacred bands of the covenant. He was farther diſguſted at the extremities, into which he had already been hurried; and was confirmed in his repugnance by the exhortations of his wife, who had great influence over him, and was herſelf much governed by the preſbyterian clergy. A committee of parliament was ſent to reaſon with him; and Cromwel was one of the number. In vain did they urge, that the Scots had firſt broken the covenant by their invaſion of England under duke Hamilton; and that they would ſurely renew their hoſtile attempts, if not prevented by the vigorous meaſures of the commonwealth. Cromwel, who knew the rigid inflexibility of Fairfax, in every thing, which he regarded

CHAP. LX. 1650.

regarded as matter of principle, ventured to ſolicit him with the utmoſt earneſtneſs; and he went ſo far as to ſhed tears of grief and vexation on this occaſion. No one could ſuſpect any ambition in the man, who laboured ſo zealouſly to retain his general in that high office, which, he knew, he himſelf was alone entitled to fill. The ſame warmth of temper, which made Cromwel a frantic enthuſiaſt, rendered him the moſt dangerous of hypocrites; and it was to this turn of mind, as much as to his courage and capacity, that he owed all his wonderful ſucceſſes. By the contagious ferment of his zeal, he engaged every one to co-operate with him in his meaſures; and entering eaſily and affectionately into every part, which he was diſpoſed to act, he was enabled, even after multiplied deceits, to cover, under a tempeſt of paſſion, all his crooked ſchemes and profound artifices.

FAIRFAX having reſigned his commiſſion, it was beſtowed on Cromwel, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. This command, in a commonwealth, which ſtood entirely by arms, was of the utmoſt importance; and was the chief ſtep, which this ambitious politician had yet made towards ſovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men.

THE command of the Scottiſh army was given to Leſley, an experienced officer, who formed a very proper plan for defence. He entrenched himſelf in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merſe and the Lothians every thing which could ſerve to ſubſiſt the Engliſh army. Cromwel advanced to the Scotch camp, and endeavoured, by every expedient, to bring Leſley to a battle: The prudent Scotchman knew, that, though ſuperior in numbers, his army was much inferior in diſcipline to the Engliſh; and he kept himſelf carefully within his entrenchments.

trenchments. By skirmishes and small rencounters he tried to confirm the spirits of his soldiers; and he was successful in these enterprizes. His army encreased daily both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp; and having exerted himself in an action, gained on the affections of the soldiery, who were more desirous of serving under a young prince of spirit and vivacity than under a committee of talking gown-men. The clergy were alarmed. They ordered Charles immediately to leave the camp. They also purged it carefully of about 4000 *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whose zeal had led them to attend the king, and who were the soldiers of chief credit and experience in the nation [w]. They then concluded, that they had an army composed entirely of saints, and could not be beaten. They murmured extremely, not only against their prudent general, but also against the Lord, on account of his delays in giving them deliverance [x]; and they plainly told him, that, if he would not save them from the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God [y]. An advantage having offered itself on a Sunday, they hindered the general from making use of it, lest he should involve the nation in the guilt of sabbath-breaking. 1650.

CROMWEL found himself in a very bad situation. He had no provisions but what he received by sea. He had not had the precaution to bring these in sufficient quantities; and his army was reduced to difficulties. He retired to Dunbar. Lesley followed him and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. There lay many difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwic, and of these Lesley had taken possession. The English general was reduced to extremity. He had even embraced a resolution of sending by sea all his foot and artillery to

w Sir Edw. Walker, p. 163. x Id. p. 168. y Whitlocke, p. 449.

England,

CHAP. LX. 1650.

England, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry. The madneſs of the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics ſaved him from this loſs and diſhonour.

NIGHT and day the miniſters had been wreſtling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they fancied, that they had at laſt obtained the victory. Revelations, they ſaid, were made them, that the ſectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, meaning Cromwel, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of theſe viſions, they forced their general, in ſpite of his remonſtrances, to deſcend into the plain, with a view of attacking the Engliſh in their retreat. Cromwel, looking through a glaſs, ſaw the enemy's camp in motion; and foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into *his* hands. He gave orders immediately for an attack. In this battle it was eaſily obſerved, that nothing, in military actions, can ſupply the place of diſcipline and experience; and that, in the preſence of real danger, where men are not accuſtomed to it, the fumes of enthuſiaſm preſently diſſipate, and loſe their influence. The Scots, though double in number to the Engliſh, were ſoon put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter. The chief, if not only reſiſtance was made by one regiment of Highlanders, that part of the army, which was the leaſt infected with fanaticiſm. No victory could be more complete than this which was obtained by Cromwel. About 3000 of the enemy were ſlain, and 9000 taken priſoners. Cromwel purſued his advantage, and gained poſſeſſion of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottiſh army fled to Sterling. The approach of the winter ſeaſon, and an ague, which ſeized Cromwel, kept him from puſhing the victory any farther.

Battle of Dunbar.

3d Septemb.

THE clergy made great lamentations, and told the Lord, that to them it was little to ſacrifice their lives and eſtates, but to him it was a great loſs to ſuffer his elect

to be deſtroyed [z]. They publiſhed a declaration, containing the cauſe of their late misfortunes. Theſe viſitations they aſcribed to the manifold provocations of the king's houſe, of which, they feared, he had not yet thoroughly repented; the ſecret intruſion of malignants into the king's family and even into the camp; the leaving of a moſt malignant and profane guard of horſe, who, being ſent for to be purged, came two days before the defeat, and were allowed to fight with the army; the owning of the king's quarrel by many without ſubordination to religion and liberty; and the carnal ſelf-ſeeking of ſome, together with the neglect of family prayers by others. CHAP. LX. 1650.

CROMWEL, having been ſo ſucceſsful in the war of the ſword, took up the pen againſt the Scotch eccleſiaſtics. He wrote them ſome polemical letters, in which he maintained the chief points of the independent theology. He took care likewiſe to retort on them their favourite argument of providence; and aſked them, whether the Lord had not declared againſt them. But the miniſters thought, that the ſame events, which to their enemies were judgements, to them were trials; and they replied, that the Lord had only hid his face, for a time, from Jacob. But Cromwel inſiſted, that the appeal had been made to God in the moſt expreſs and ſolemn manner, and that, in the fields of Dunbar, an irrevocable deciſion had been awarded in favour of the Engliſh army [a].

THE

[z] Sir Edward Walker.

[a] This is the beſt of Cromwel's wretched compoſitions that remains, and we ſhall here extract a paſſage out of it. "You ſay you have not ſo learned "Chriſt as to hang the equity of your cauſe upon events. We could wiſh "that blindneſs had not been upon your eyes to all thoſe marvellous diſ-"penſations, which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you "ſolemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do ſo too? And ought not we "and you to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the great God, "in this mighty and ſtrange appearance of his, but can ſlightly call it an "event?

CHAP. LX.

1651. THE defeat of the Scots was regarded by the king as a fortunate event. The armies, which fought on both ſides, were almoſt equally his enemies; and the vanquiſhed were now obliged to give him ſome more authority, and apply to him for ſupport. The parliament was ſummoned to meet at St. Johnſtone's. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the Engagers were admitted into court and camp, on condition of doing public pennance, and expreſſing repentance for their late tranſgreſſions. Some Malignants alſo creeped in under various pretences. The intended humiliation or pennance of the king was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was 1ſt January. performed at Scone with great pomp and ſolemnity. But amidſt all this appearance of reſpect, Charles remained in the hands of the moſt rigid Covenanters: And though treated with civility and courteſy by Argyle, a man of parts and addreſs, he was little better than a priſoner, and was ſtill expoſed to all the rudeneſs and pedantry of the eccleſiaſtics.

THIS young prince was in a ſituation, which very ill ſuited his temper and diſpoſition. All thoſe good qualities which he poſſeſſed, his affability, his wit, his gaiety, his gentleman-like, diſengaged behaviour, were here ſo many vices; and his love of eaſe, liberty, and pleaſure was regarded as the higheſt enormity. Though artful in the practice of courtly diſſimulation, the ſanctified ſtyle

" event? Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to " time, while we waited on God, to ſee which way he would manifeſt him- " ſelf upon our appeals? And ſhall we, after all theſe our prayers, faſtings, " tears, expectations and ſolemn appeals, call theſe mere events? The Lord " pity you. Surely we fear, becauſe it has been a merciful and a gracious " deliverance to us.

" I beſeech you in the bowels of Chriſt, ſearch after the mind of the Lord " in it towards you, and we ſhall help you by our prayers that you may find " it. For yet, if we know our heart at all, our bowels do in Chriſt yearn " after the godly in Scotland." Thurloe, vol. i. p. 158.

was

was utterly unknown to him; and he never could mould his deportment into that ſtarched grimace, which the covenanters required as an infallible mark of converſion. The duke of Buckingham was the only Engliſh courtier allowed to attend him; and by his ingenious talent for ridicule, he had rendered himſelf extremely agreeable to his maſter. While ſo many objects of deriſion ſurrounded them, it was difficult to be altogether inſenſible to the temptation, and wholly to ſuppreſs the laugh. Obliged to attend from morning to night at prayers and ſermons, they betrayed evident ſymptoms of wearineſs or contempt. The clergy never could eſteem the king ſufficiently regenerated: And by continual exhortations, remonſtrances, and reprimands, they ſtill endeavoured to bring him to a juſter ſenſe of his ſpiritual duty. CHAP. LX. 1651.

THE king's paſſion for the fair could not altogether be reſtrained. He had once been obſerved uſing ſome familiarities with a young woman; and a committee of miniſters was appointed to reprove him for a behaviour ſo unbecoming a covenanted monarch. The ſpokeſman of the committee, one Douglaſs, began with a ſevere aſpect, informed the king that great ſcandal had been given to the godly, enlarged on the heinous nature of ſin, and concluded with exhorting his majeſty, whenever he was diſpoſed to amuſe himſelf, to be more careful, for the future, in ſhutting the windows. This delicacy, ſo unuſual to the place and to the character of the man, was remarked by the king; and he never forgot the obligation.

THE king, ſhocked with all the indignities, and perhaps, ſtill more tired with all the formalities, to which he was obliged to ſubmit, made an attempt to regain his liberty. General Middleton, at the head of ſome royaliſts, being proſcribed by the covenanters, kept in the mountains, expecting ſome opportunity of ſerving his

CHAP. LX. 1651.

master. The king resolved to join this body. He secretly made his escape from Argyle, and fled towards the Highlands. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horse, was sent in pursuit of him. He overtook the king, and persuaded him to return. The royalists being too weak to support him, Charles was the more easily induced to comply. This incident procured him afterwards better treatment and more authority; the covenanters being afraid of driving him, by their rigours, to some desperate resolution. Argyle renewed his courtship to the king, and the king, with equal dissimulation, pretended to repose great confidence in Argyle. He even went so far as to drop hints of his intention to marry that nobleman's daughter: But he had to do with a man too wise to be seduced by such gross artifices.

So soon as the season would permit, the Scotch army was assembled under Hamilton and Lesley; and the king was allowed to join the camp. The forces of the western counties, notwithstanding the imminent danger, which threatened their country, were resolved not to unite their cause with that of an army, which admitted any engagers or malignants among them; and they kept in a body apart under Ker. They called themselves the *Protesters*; and their frantic clergy declaimed equally against the king and Cromwel. The other party were denominated *Resolutioners*; and these distinctions continued long after to divide and agitate the kingdom.

CHARLES encamped at the Torwood; and his generals resolved to conduct themselves by the same cautious maxims, which, so long as they were embraced, had been successful during the former campaign. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north supplied him with provisions. Strong entrenchments defended his front; and it was in vain that Cromwel made every attempt to bring him to an engagement. After losing much

much time, the English general sent Lambert over the frith into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the provisions of the enemy. Lambert fell upon Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots, and put them to rout with great slaughter. Cromwel also passed over with his whole army; and lying at the back of the king, made it impossible for him to keep his post any longer. CHAP. LX. 1651.

CHARLES, reduced to despair, embraced a resolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open, he resolved immediately to march into England; where he expected, that all his friends, and all those who were discontented with the present government would flock to his standard. He persuaded the generals to enter into the same views; and with one consent the army, to the number of 14,000 men, rose from their camp, and advanced by great journies towards the south.

CROMWEL was surprized at this movement of the royal army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had exposed his friends to imminent danger, and saw the king with numerous forces marching into England; where his presence, from the general hatred which prevailed against the parliament, was capable of producing some great revolution. But if this conduct was an oversight in Cromwel, he quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He dispatched letters to the parliament, exhorting them not to be dismayed at the approach of the Scots: He sent orders every where for assembling forces to oppose the king: He ordered Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and infest their march: And he himself, leaving Monk with 7000 men to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all the expedition possible.

CHARLES found himself disappointed in his expectations of encreasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the

CHAP. LX. 1651.

prospect of so hazardous an enterprize, fell off in great numbers. The English presbyterians, having no warning given them of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. To the royalists, this measure was equally unexpected; and they were farther deterred from joining the Scottish army by the orders, which the committee of ministers had issued, not to admit any, even in this desperate extremity, who would not subscribe the covenant. The earl of Derby, leaving the isle of Man, where he had hitherto maintained his independance, was employed in levying forces in Cheshire and Lancashire; but was soon suppressed by a party of the parliamentary army. And the king, when he arrived at Worcester, found, that his forces, extremely harrassed by a hasty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous, than when he rose from his camp in the Torwood.

SUCH is the influence of established government, that the commonwealth, though founded in usurpation the most unjust and unpopular, had authority sufficient to raise every where the militia of the counties; and these, united with the regular forces, bent all their efforts against the king. With an army of above 30,000 men, Cromwel fell upon Worcester; and attacking it on all sides, and meeting with little resistance except from duke Hamilton and general Middleton, broke in upon the disordered royalists. The streets of the city were strowed with dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of bravery and honour, was mortally wounded; Massey wounded and taken prisoner; the king himself, having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly. The whole Scottish army was either killed or taken prisoners. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, put to death the few that escaped from the field of battle.

3d Sept.

Battle of Worcester.

The king's escape.

THE king left Worcester at six o'clock in the afternoon, and without halting, travelled about twenty-six

miles, in company with fifty or sixty of his friends. To provide for his security, he thought it best to separate himself from his companions; and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the earl of Derby's directions, he went to Boscobel, a lone house in the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles entrusted himself. The man had dignity of sentiments much above his condition; and though death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honourable with himself; and having cloathed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into the neigbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed on such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent in search of the king; and many expressed in his hearing their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the *Royal Oak*; and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration.

Charles was in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither stay in his retreat, nor stir a step from it, without the most imminent danger. Fears, hopes, and party zeal interested multitudes to discover him; and even the smallest indiscretion of his friends might prove fatal. Having joined lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighbourhood, they agreed to put themselves into the hands of colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. The king's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots or country-

CHAP. LX. 1651.

men's ſhoes which did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horſeback; and he travelled in this ſituation to Bentley, attended by the Penderells, who had been ſo faithful to him. Lane formed a ſcheme for his journey to Briſtol, where, it was hoped, he would find a ſhip, in which he might tranſport himſelf. He had a near kinſwoman, Mrs. Norton, who lived within three miles of that city, and was with child, very near the time of her delivery. He obtained a paſs (for during thoſe times of confuſion this precaution was requiſite) for his ſiſter Jane Lane and a ſervant, to travel towards Briſtol, under pretence of viſiting and attending her relation. The king rode before the lady, and perſonated the ſervant.

WHEN they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended, that ſhe had brought along as her ſervant, a poor lad, a neighbouring farmer's ſon, who was ill of an ague; and ſhe begged a private room for him, where he might be quiet. Though Charles kept himſelf retired in this chamber, the butler, one Pope, ſoon knew him: The king was alarmed, but made the butler promiſe that he would keep the ſecret from every mortal, even from his maſter; and he was faithful to his engagement.

NO ſhip, it was found, would, for a month, ſet ſail from Briſtol, either for France or Spain; and the king was obliged to go elſewhere for a paſſage. He entruſted himſelf to colonel Windham of Dorſetſhire, an affectionate partizan of the royal family. The natural effect of the long civil wars and of the furious rage, to which all men were wrought up in their different factions, was, that every one's inclinations and affections were thoroughly known, and even the courage and fidelity of moſt men, by the variety of incidents, had been put to trial. The royaliſts too had, many of them, been obliged to contrive concealments in their houſes for themſelves, their friends, or more valuable effects; and the arts of

eluding

eluding the enemy had been often practiſed. All theſe circumſtances proved favourable to the king in the preſent exigency. As he paſſed often through the hands of catholics, the *Prieſt's hole*, as they called it, the place, where they were obliged to conceal their perſecuted prieſts, was ſometimes employed for ſheltering their diſtreſſed ſovereign. CHAP. LX. 1651.

WINDHAM, before he received the king, aſked leave to entruſt the important ſecret to his mother, his wife, and four ſervants, on whoſe fidelity he could entirely rely. Of all theſe perſons, no one proved wanting either in honour or diſcretion. The venerable old matron, on the reception of her royal gueſt, expreſſed the utmoſt joy, that, having loſt, without regret, three ſons and one grand-child in defence of his father, ſhe was now reſerved, in her declining years, to be inſtrumental in the preſervation of himſelf. Windham told the king, that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five ſons. "My "children," ſaid he, "we have hitherto ſeen ſerene and "quiet times under our three laſt ſovereigns: But I muſt "now warn you to prepare for clouds and ſtorms. Fac"tions ariſe on every ſide and threaten the tranquillity "of your native country. But whatever happen, do "you faithfully honour and obey your prince, and ad"here to the crown. I charge you never to forſake the "crown, though it ſhould hang upon a buſh." "Theſe "laſt words," added Windham, "made ſuch impreſ"ſions on all our breaſts, that the many afflictions of "theſe ſad times could never efface their indelible cha"racters." From innumerable inſtances it appears how deep rooted in the minds of the Engliſh gentry of that age was the principle of loyalty to their ſovereign; that noble and generous principle, inferior only in excellence to the more enlarged and more inlightened affection to-

CHAP. LX.

1651.

wards a legal conſtitution. But during thoſe times of military uſurpation, theſe paſſions were the ſame.

THE king continued ſeveral days in Windham's houſe; and all his friends in Britain and in every part of Europe, remained in the moſt anxious ſuſpence with regard to his fortune: No one could conjecture whether he was dead or alive; and the report of his death, being generally believed, happily relaxed the vigilant ſearch of his enemies. Trials were made to procure a veſſel for his eſcape; but he ſtill met with diſappointments. Having left Windham's houſe, he was obliged again to return to it. He paſſed through many other adventures; aſſumed different diſguiſes; in every ſtep was expoſed to imminent perils; and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The ſagacity of a ſmith, who remarked, that his horſe's ſhoes had been made in the north, not in the weſt, as he pretended, once detected him; and he narrowly eſcaped. At Shoreham in Suſſex a veſſel was at laſt found, in which he embarked. He had been known to ſo many, that if he had not ſet ſail in that critical moment, it had been impoſſible for him to eſcape. After one and forty days concealment, he arrived ſafely at Feſcamp in Normandy. No leſs than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his concealment and eſcape [b].

THE battle of Worceſter afforded Cromwel what he called his *crowning mercy* [c]. So elated was he, that he intended to have knighted in the field two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood; but was diſſwaded by his friends from exerting this act of regal authority. His power and ambition were too great to brook ſubmiſſion to the empty name of a republic, which ſtood chiefly by his influence, and was ſupported by his victories. How early he enter-

[b] Heathe's Chronicle, p. 301.

[c] Parl. Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 47.

tained

CHAP. LX.

tained thoughts of taking into his hand the reins of government is uncertain. We are only assured, that he now discovered to his intimate friends these aspiring views; and even expressed a desire of assuming the rank of king, which he had contributed, with such seeming zeal, to abolish [d]. 1651.

The commonwealth.

THE little popularity and credit, acquired by the republicans, farther stimulated the ambition of this enterprizing politician. These men had not that large thought, nor those comprehensive views, which might qualify them for acting the part of legislators: Selfish aims and bigotry chiefly engrossed their attention. They carried their rigid austerity so far as to enact laws, declaring fornication, after the first act, to be felony, without benefit of clergy [e]. They made small progress in that important work, which they professed to have so much at heart, the settling of a new model of representation, and fixing a plan of government. The nation began to apprehend, that they intended to establish themselves as a perpetual legislature, and to confine the whole power to 60 or 70 persons, who called themselves the parliament of the commonwealth of England. And while they pretended to bestow new liberties upon the nation, they found themselves obliged to infringe even the most valuable of those, which, through time immemorial, had been transmitted from their ancestors. Not daring to entrust the trials of treason to juries, who, being chosen indifferently from among the people, would have been little favourable to the commonwealth, and would have formed their verdict upon the ancient laws, they eluded that noble institution, by which the government of this island has ever been so much distinguished. They had seen evidently in the trial

[d] Whitlocke, p. 523. [e] Scobel, p. 121. A bill was introduced into the house against painting, patches, and other immodest dress of women; but it did not pass. Parl. Hist. vol. xix. p. 263.

of

CHAP. LX. 1652.

of Lilburn what they could expect from juries. This man, the moſt turbulent, but the moſt upright and courageous of human kind, was tried for a tranſgreſſion of the new ſtatute of treaſons: But though he was plainly guilty, he was acquitted, to the great joy of the people. Weſtminſter-hall, nay the whole city, rang with ſhouts and acclamations. Never did any eſtabliſhed power receive ſo ſtrong a declaration of its uſurpation and invalidity; and from no inſtitution, beſides the admirable one of juries, could be expected this magnanimous effort.

THAT they might not for the future be expoſed to affronts, which ſo much leſſened their authority, the parliament erected a high court of juſtice, which was to receive indictments from the council of ſtate. This court was compoſed entirely of men, devoted to the ruling party, without name or character, determined to ſacrifice every thing to their own ſafety or ambition. Colonel Euſebius Andrews, and colonel Walter Slingſby were tried by this court for conſpiracies, and condemned to death. They were royaliſts, and refuſed to plead before ſo illegal a juriſdiction. Love, Gibbons, and other preſbyterians, having entered into a plot againſt the republic, were alſo tried, condemned, and executed. The earl of Derby, Sir Timothy Fetherſtone, Bemboe, being taken priſoners after the battle of Worceſter, were put to death by ſentence of a court martial: A method of proceeding declared illegal by that very petition of right, for which a former parliament had ſo ſtrenuouſly contended, and which, after great efforts, they had extorted from the king.

EXCEPTING their principles of toleration, the maxims, by which the republicans regulated eccleſiaſtical affairs, no more prognoſticated any durable ſettlement, than thoſe by which they conducted their civil concerns. The

preſby-

CHAP. LX. 1651.

presbyterian model of congregations, classes, and assemblies was not allowed to be finished: It seemed even the intention of many leaders in the parliament to admit of no established church, and to leave every one, without any guidance of the magistrate, to embrace whatever sect, and to support whatever clergy, were most agreeable to him.

THE parliament went so far as to make some approaches, in one province, to their independent model. Almost all the clergy of Wales being ejected as malignants, itinerant preachers with small salaries were settled, not above four or five in each county; and these, being furnished with horses at the public expence, hurried from place to place, and carried, as they expressed themselves, the glad tidings of the gospel[f]. They were all of them men of the lowest birth and education, who had deserted mechanical trades, in order to follow this new profession: And in this particular, as well as in their wandering life, they pretended to be more truly apostolical.

THE republicans, both by the turn of their disposition, and by the nature of the instruments, which they employed, were better qualified for acts of force and vigour than for the slow and deliberate work of legislation. Notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed, and the present factions, the power of England had never, in any period, appeared so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as at this time, in the hands of the commonwealth. A numerous army served equally to retain every one in implicit subjection to established authority, and to strike a terror into foreign nations. The power of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with that of imposing taxes; and no difference of views, among the several members of the legislature, could any longer be apprehended. The present impositions, though much

[f] Dr. John Walker's attempt, p. 147, & seq.

superior

CHAP. LX.

1651. superior to what had ever formerly been experienced, were in reality moderate, and what a nation, so opulent, could easily bear. The military genius of the people had, by the civil contests, been rouzed from its former lethargy; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion, into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity to men of low stations to break through their obscurity, and to raise themselves by their courage to commands, which they were well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have entitled them. And while so great a power was lodged in such active hands, no wonder the republic was successful in all its enterprizes.

Blake, a man of great courage and a generous disposition, the same person who had defended Lyme and Taunton with such unshaken obstinacy against the king, was made an admiral; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land service, into which too he had not entered till past fifty years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was put under his command, and he received orders to pursue prince Rupert, to whom the king had entrusted that squadron, which had deserted to him. Rupert took shelter in Kinsale; and escaping thence, fled towards the coast of Portugal. Blake pursued, and chased him into the Tagus, where he intended to make an attack upon him. But the king of Portugal, moved by the favour, which, throughout all Europe, attended the royal cause, refused Blake admittance, and aided prince Rupert in making his escape. To be revenged of this partiality, the English admiral made prize of twenty Portuguese ships richly laden; and he threatened still farther vengeance. The king of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly acquired dominion, and sensible of the unequal contest, in which he

he was engaged, made all poſſible ſubmiſſions to the haughty republic, and was at laſt admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Prince Rupert, having loſt a great part of his ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain, made ſail towards the Weſt-Indies. His brother, prince Maurice, was there ſhip-wrecked in a hurricane. Every where, this ſquadron ſubſiſted by privateering, ſometimes on Engliſh, ſometimes on Spaniſh veſſels. And Rupert at laſt returned to France, where he diſpoſed of the remnants of his fleet, together with his prizes. CHAP. LX. 1651.

ALL the ſettlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the ſettlement of the republic; and Sir George Ayſcue was ſent with a ſquadron to reduce them to obedience. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia were ſoon ſubdued. Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, made ſome reſiſtance; but was at laſt obliged to ſubmit.

WITH equal eaſe were Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, and the iſle of Man brought under ſubjection to the republic; and the ſea, which had been much infeſted by privateers from theſe iſlands, was rendered ſafe to the Engliſh commerce. The counteſs of Derby defended the iſle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the neceſſity of ſurrendering to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illuſtrious houſe of Trimoille in France, had, during the civil wars, diſplayed a manly courage by her obſtinate defence of Latham-Houſe againſt the parliamentary forces; and ſhe retained the glory of being the laſt perſon in the three kingdoms and in all their dependant dominions, who ſubmitted to the victorious commonwealth [H].

[H] See note [H] at the end of the volume.

IRELAND

CHAP. LX.

1651.

IRELAND and Scotland were now entirely subjected and reduced to tranquillity. Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland, commanding a numerous army of 30,000 men, profecuted the work of fubduing the revolted Iriſh; and he defeated them in many rencounters, which, though in themſelves of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cauſe. He puniſhed without mercy all the priſoners who had any hand in the maſſacres. Sir Phelim Oneale, among the reſt, was, ſome time after, brought to the gibbet, and ſuffered an ignominious death, which he had ſo well merited by his inhuman cruelties. Limeric, a conſiderable town, ſtill remained in the hands of the Iriſh; and Ireton, after a vigorous ſiege, made himſelf maſter of it. He was here infected with the plague, and ſhortly after died; a memorable perſonage, much celebrated for his vigilance, induſtry, capacity, even for the ſtrict execution of juſtice in that unlimited command, which he poſſeſſed in Ireland. He was obſerved to be inflexible in all his purpoſes; and it was believed by many, that he was animated with a ſincere and paſſionate love for liberty, and never could have been induced by any motive, to ſubmit to the ſmalleſt appearance of regal government. Cromwel appeared to be much affected by his death; and the republicans, who repoſed great confidence in him, were inconſoleable. To ſhow their regard for his merit and ſervices, they beſtowed an eſtate of two thouſand pounds a year on his family, and honoured him with a magnificent funeral at the public charge. Though the eſtabliſhed government was but the mere ſhadow of a commonwealth, yet was it beginning by proper arts to encourage that public ſpirit, which no other ſpecies of civil polity is ever able fully to inſpire.

THE command of the army in Ireland devolved on lieutenant-general Ludlow. The civil government of the iſland was entruſted to commiſſioners. Ludlow continued

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to push the advantages against the Irish, and every where obtained an easy victory. That unhappy people, disgusted with the king on account of those violent declarations against them and their religion, which had been extorted by the Scots, applied to the king of Spain, to the duke of Lorraine; and found assistance no where. Clanricarde, unable to resist the prevailing power, made submissions to the parliament, and retired into England, where he soon after died. He was a steady catholic; but a man much respected by all parties.

CHAP. LX. 1651.

The successes, which attended Monk in Scotland, were no less decisive. That able general laid siege to Stirling castle; and though it was well provided for defence, it was soon surrendered to him. He there became master of all the records of the kingdom; and he sent them to England. The earl of Leven, the earl of Crawford, lord Ogilvy, and other noblemen, having met near Perth, in order to concert measures for raising a new army, were suddenly set upon by colonel Alured, and most of them taken prisoners. Sir Philip Musgrave, with some Scots, being engaged at Dumfries in a like enterprize, met with a like fate. Dundee was a town well fortified, supplied with a good garrison under Lumisden, and full of all the rich furniture, the plate, and money of the kingdom, which had been sent thither as to a place of safety. Monk appeared before it; and having made a breach, gave a general assault. He carried the town; and following the example and instructions of Cromwel, put all the inhabitants to the sword, in order to strike a general terror into the kingdom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Inverness, and other towns and forts yielded, of their own accord, to the enemy. Argyle made his submissions to the English commonwealth; and excepting a few royalists, who remained some time in the mountains, under the earl of Glencairn,

CHAP. LX.

1651. Glencairn, lord Balcarras, and general Middleton, that kingdom, which had hitherto, through all ages, by means of its ſituation, poverty, and valour, maintained its independance, was reduced to total ſubjection.

THE Engliſh parliament ſent Sir Harry Vane, St. John, and other commiſſioners to ſettle Scotland. Theſe men, who poſſeſſed little of the real ſpirit of liberty, knew how to maintain the appearances of it; and they required the voluntary conſent of all the counties and towns of this conquered kingdom, before they would unite them into the ſame commonwealth with England. The clergy proteſted; becauſe, they ſaid, this incorporating union would draw along with it a ſubordination of the church to the ſtate in the things of Chriſt [h]. Engliſh judges, joined to ſome Scotch, were appointed to determine all cauſes; juſtice was ſtrictly executed; order and peace maintained; and the Scots, freed from the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtics, were not much diſſatisfied with the preſent government [i]. The prudent conduct of Monk, a man who poſſeſſed a good capacity for the arts both of peace and war, ſerved much to reconcile the minds of men, and to allay their prejudices.

1652. Dutch war. BY the total reduction and pacification of the Britiſh dominions, the parliament had leiſure to look abroad, and to exert their vigour in foreign enterprizes. The Dutch were the firſt that felt the weight of their arms.

DURING the life of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange, the Dutch republic had maintained a neutrality in the civil wars of England, and had never interpoſed, except by her good offices, between the contending parties. When William, who had married an Engliſh princeſs, ſucceeded to his father's commands and authority [k], the ſtates, both before and after

[h] Whitlocke, p. 496. Heathe's chronicle, p. 307.
[i] See Note [I] at the end of the volume. [k] 1647.

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1652.

the execution of the late king, were accuſed of taking ſteps more favourable to the royal cauſe, and of betraying a great prejudice againſt that of the parliament. It was long before the envoy of the Engliſh commonwealth could obtain an audience of the ſtates general. The murderers of Doriſlaus were not purſued with ſuch vigour as the parliament expected. And much regard had been payed to the king, and many good offices performed to him, both by the public, and by men of all ranks, in the united provinces.

AFTER the death of William, prince of Orange [l], which was attended with the depreſſion of his party and the triumph of the republicans, the parliament thought, that the time was now favourable for cementing a cloſer confederacy with the ſtates. St. John, chief juſtice, who was ſent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a kind of coalition between the two republics, which would have rendered their intereſts totally inſeparable; but fearing that ſo extraordinary a project would not be reliſhed, he contented himſelf with dropping ſome hints of it, and openly went no farther than to propoſe a ſtrict defenſive alliance between England and the united provinces, ſuch as has now, for near ſeventy years, taken place between theſe friendly powers [m]. But the ſtates, who were unwilling to form a nearer confederacy with a government, whoſe meaſures were ſo obnoxious, and whoſe ſituation ſeemed ſo precarious, offered only to renew the former alliances with England. And the haughty St. John, diſguſted with this diſappointment, as well as incenſed at many affronts, which had been offered him with impunity, by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and endeavoured to excite a quarrel between the two republics.

[l] In October 17, 1650.

[m] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 182.

CHAP. LX.

1652.

THE movements of great ſtates are often directed by as ſlender ſprings as thoſe of individuals. Though war with ſo conſiderable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their other neighbours, might ſeem dangerous to the yet unſettled commonwealth, there were ſeveral motives, which at this time induced the Engliſh parliament to embrace hoſtile meaſures. Many of the members thought, that a foreign war would ſerve as a pretence for continuing the ſame parliament, and delaying the new model of a repreſentative, with which the nation had ſo long been flattered. Others hoped, that the war would furniſh a reaſon for maintaining, ſome time longer, that numerous ſtanding army, which was ſo much complained of [n]. On the other hand, ſome, who dreaded the encreaſing power of Cromwel, expected, that the great expence of naval armaments would prove a motive for diminiſhing the military eſtabliſhment. To divert the attention of the public from domeſtic quarrels towards foreign tranſactions, ſeemed, in the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds, to be good policy. The ſuperior power of the Engliſh commonwealth, together with its advantages of ſituation, promiſed ſucceſs; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to diſtreſs and ſink their flouriſhing commerce, and by victories to throw a luſtre on their own eſtabliſhment, which was ſo new and unpopular. All theſe views, enforced by the violent ſpirit of St. John, who had great influence over Cromwel, determined the parliament to change the propoſed alliance into a furious war againſt the united provinces.

To cover theſe hoſtile intentions, the parliament, under pretence of providing for the intereſts of commerce,

[n] We are told in the life of Sir Harry Vane, that that famous republican oppoſed the Dutch war, and that it was the military gentlemen chiefly who ſupported that meaſure.

CHAP. LX. 1652.

embraced such measures as, they knew, would give disgust to the states. They framed the famous act of navigation; which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their bottoms any commodity, which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this law, though the terms, in which it was conceived, were general, the Dutch were principally affected; because their country produces few commodities, and they subsist chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of the world. Letters of reprizal were granted to several merchants, who complained of injuries, which, as they pretended, they had received from the states; and above eighty Dutch ships fell into their hands, and were made prizes. The cruelties practised on the English at Amboyna, which were certainly enormous, but which seemed to be buried in oblivion by a thirty years' silence, were again made the ground of complaint. And the allowing of the murderers of Dorislaus to escape, and the conniving at the insults to which St. John had been exposed, were represented as symptoms of an unfriendly, if not a hostile, disposition in the states.

The states, alarmed at all these steps, sent orders to their ambassadors to endeavour the renewal of the treaty of alliance, which had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St. John. Not to be unprepared, they equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, and took care, by their ministers at London, to inform the council of state of that armament. This intelligence, instead of striking terror into the English republic, was considered as a menace, and farther confirmed the parliament in their hostile resolutions. The minds of men, in both states, were, every day, more and more irritated against each other; and it was not long before these humours broke forth into action.

CHAP. LX.

1652.

TROMP, an admiral of great renown, received from the ſtates the command of a fleet of forty-two ſail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation againſt the privateers of the Engliſh. He was forced by ſtreſs of weather, as he alledged, to take ſhelter in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an Engliſh fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggreſſor in the action, which enſued between theſe two admirals, both of them men of ſuch prompt and fiery diſpoſitions, it is not eaſy to determine; ſince each of them ſent to his own ſtate a relation totally oppoſite in all its circumſtances to that of the other, and yet ſupported by the teſtimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended, that, having given a ſignal to the Dutch admiral to ſtrike, Tromp, inſtead of complying, fired a broad-ſide at him. Tromp aſſerted, that he was preparing to ſtrike, and the Engliſh admiral, nevertheleſs, began hoſtilities. It is certain, that the admiralty of Holland, who are diſtinct from the council of ſtate, had given Tromp no orders to ſtrike, but had left him to his own diſcretion, with regard to that vain, but much conteſted ceremonial. They ſeemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new commonwealth, and to interpret the former reſpect, payed the Engliſh flag, as a deference due only to the monarchy. This circumſtance forms a ſtrong preſumption againſt the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it muſt be remarked, to which Tromp was ſuſpected to adhere, were deſirous of a war with England.

BLAKE, though his ſquadron conſiſted only of fifteen veſſels, re-inforced, after the battle began, by eight under captain Bourne, maintained the fight with bravery for five hours, and ſunk one ſhip of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coaſt of Holland. The populace

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of London were enraged, and would have insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who lived at Chelsea, had not the council of state sent guards to protect them. CHAP. LX. 1652.

When the states heard of this action, of which the consequences were easily foreseen, they were in the utmost consternation. They immediately dispatched Paw, pensionary of Holland, as their ambassador extraordinary to London, and ordered him to lay before the parliament the narrative, which Tromp had sent of the late rencounter. They entreated them, by all the bands of their common religion, and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners, who should examine every circumstance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obscurity. And they pretended, that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the English, but would severely punish him, if they found upon enquiry, that he had been guilty of an action, which they so much disapproved. The imperious parliament would hearken to none of these reasons or remonstrances. Elated by the numerous successes, which they had obtained over their domestic enemies, they thought, that every thing must yield to their fortunate arms; and they gladly seized the opportunity, which they sought, of making war upon the states. They demanded, that, without any farther delay or enquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages, which the English had sustained. And when this demand was not complied with, they dispatched orders for commencing war against the united provinces.

Blake sailed northwards with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring busses, which were escorted by twelve men of war. All these he either took or dispersed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred sail. When these two admirals were within sight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious storm attacked them.

CHAP. LX.

Blake took ſhelter in the Engliſh harbours. The Dutch fleet was diſperſed and received great damage.

1652. 16th Aug.

SIR GEORGE AYSCUE, though he commanded only forty ſhips, according to the Engliſh accounts, engaged near Plymouth the famous de Ruiter, who had under him fifty ſhips of war, with thirty merchant-men. The Dutch ſhips were indeed of inferior force to the Engliſh. De Ruiter, the only admiral in Europe, who has attained a renown equal to that of the greateſt general, defended himſelf ſo well, that Ayſcue gained no advantage over him. Night parted them in the greateſt heat of the action. De Ruiter next day ſailed off with his convoy. The Engliſh fleet had been ſo ſhattered in the fight, that it was not able to purſue.

28th Oct.

NEAR the coaſt of Kent, Blake, ſeconded by Bourne and Pen, met a Dutch ſquadron, nearly equal in numbers, commanded by de Witte and de Ruiter. A battle was fought much to the diſadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other veſſels were ſunk, and one blown up. The Dutch next day made ſail towards Holland.

THE Engliſh were not ſo ſucceſsful in the Mediterranean. Van Galen with much ſuperior force attacked captain Badily, and defeated him. He bought, however, his victory with the loſs of his life.

29th Nov.

SEA-FIGHTS are ſeldom ſo deciſive as to diſable the vanquiſhed from making head in a little time againſt the victors. Tromp, ſeconded by de Ruiter, met near the Goodwins, with Blake, whoſe fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who was reſolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both ſides, as well as the inferior officers and ſeamen, exerted great bravery. In this action, the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himſelf was wounded. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken. Two ſhips were burned,

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and one ſunk; and night came opportunely to ſave the Engliſh fleet. After this victory, Tromp in a bravado fixed a broom to his main-maſt; as if he were reſolved to ſweep the ſea entirely of all Engliſh veſſels. CHAP. LX. 1652.

GREAT preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this diſgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty ſail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been ſent for from Scotland. When the Engliſh lay off Portland, they deſcried near break of day a Dutch fleet of ſeventy-ſix veſſels, ſailing up the channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchant-men, who had received orders to wait at the iſle of Rhé, till the fleet ſhould arrive to eſcorte them. Tromp, and, under him, de Ruiter commanded the Dutch. This battle was the moſt furious that had yet been fought, between theſe warlike and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued with the utmoſt rage and obſtinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquiſhed. The Dutch admiral made a ſkilful retreat, and ſaved all the merchant ſhips, except thirty. He loſt however eleven ſhips of war, had 2000 men ſlain, and near 1500 taken priſoners. The Engliſh, though many of their ſhips were extremely ſhattered, had but one ſunk. Their ſlain were not much inferior in numbers to thoſe of the enemy. 1653. 18th Feb.

ALL theſe ſucceſſes of the Engliſh were chiefly owing to the ſuperior ſize of their veſſels; an advantage which all the ſkill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compenſate. By means of ſhip-money, an impoſition, which had been ſo much complained of, and in ſome reſpects with reaſon, the late king had put the navy into a ſituation, which it had never attained in any former reign; and he ventured to build ſhips of a ſize, which

CHAP. LX.

1653.

was then unuſual. But the misfortunes, which the Dutch met with in battle, were ſmall in compariſon of thoſe, which their trade ſuſtained from the Engliſh. Their whole commerce by the channel was cut off: Even that to the Baltic was much infeſted by Engliſh privateers. Their fiſheries were totally ſuſpended. A great number of their ſhips, above 1600, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. And all this diſtreſs they ſuffered, not for any national intereſt or neceſſity; but from vain points of honour and perſonal reſentments, of which it was difficult to give a ſatisfactory account to the public. They reſolved therefore to gratify the pride of the parliament, and to make ſome advances towards a peace. Their reception, however, was not favourable; and it was not without pleaſure, that they learned the diſſolution of that haughty aſſembly by the violence of Cromwel; an event from which they expected a more proſperous turn to their affairs.

THE zealous republicans in the parliament had not been the chief or firſt promoters of the war; but when it was once entered upon, they endeavoured to draw from it every poſſible advantage. On all occaſions, they ſet up the fleet in oppoſition to the army, and celebrated the glory and ſucceſſes of their naval armaments. They inſiſted on the intolerable expence, to which the nation was ſubjected, and urged the neceſſity of diminiſhing it by a reduction of the land forces. They had ordered ſome regiments to ſerve on board the fleet in the quality of marines. And Cromwel, by the whole train of their proceedings, evidently ſaw, that they had entertained a jealouſy of his power and ambition, and were reſolved to bring him to a ſubordination under their authority. Without ſcruple or delay he reſolved to prevent them.

Diſſolution of the parliament.

ON ſuch firm foundations was built the credit of this extraordinary man, that, though a great maſter of fraud and

CHAP. LX. 1653.

and diſſimulation, he judged it ſuperfluous to employ any diſguiſe in conducting that bold enterprize. He ſummoned a general council of officers; and immediately found, that they were diſpoſed to receive whatever impreſſions he was pleaſed to give them. Moſt of them were his creatures, had owed their advancement to his favour, and relied entirely upon him for their future preferment. The breach being already made between the military and civil powers, when the late king was ſeized at Holdenby; the general officers regarded the parliament as at once their creature and their rival; and thought, that they themſelves were entitled to ſhare among them thoſe offices and riches, of which its members had ſo long kept poſſeſſion. Harriſon, Rich, Overton, and a few others, who retained ſome principle, were guided by notions ſo extravagant, that they were eaſily deluded into meaſures the moſt violent and moſt criminal. And the whole army had already been guilty of ſuch illegal and atrocious actions, that they could entertain no farther ſcruple with regard to any enterprize, which might ſerve their ſelfiſh or fanatical purpoſes.

In the council of officers it was preſently voted to frame a remonſtrance to the parliament. After complaining of the arrears, due to the army, they there deſired the parliament to reflect how many years they had ſat, and what profeſſions they had formerly made of their intentions to new model the repreſentative, and eſtabliſh ſucceſſive parliaments, who might bear that burthen of national affairs, from which they themſelves would gladly, after ſo much danger and fatigue, be at laſt relieved. They confeſſed, that the parliament had atchieved great enterprizes, and had ſurmounted mighty difficulties; yet was it an injury, they ſaid, to the reſt of the nation to be excluded from bearing any part in the ſervice of their country. It was now full time for them to give

CHAP. LX.

1653. place to others; and they therefore desired them, after settling a council, who might execute the laws during the interval, to summon a new parliament, and establish that free and equal government, which they had so long promised to the people.

THE parliament took this remonstrance in ill part, and made a sharp reply to the council of officers. The officers insisted on their advice; and by mutual altercation and opposition, the breach became still wider be-
20th April. tween the army and the commonwealth. Cromwel, finding matters ripe for his purpose, called a council of officers, in order to come to a determination with regard to the public settlement. As he had here many friends, so had he also some opponents. Harrison having assured the council, that the general sought only to pave the way for the government of Jesus and his saints, major Streater briskly replied, that Jesus ought then to come quickly: For if he delayed it till after Christmas, he would come too late; he would find his place occupied. While the officers were in debate, colonel Ingoldsby informed Cromwel, that the parliament was sitting, and had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the house by new elections; and was at that very time engaged in deliberations with regard to this expedient. Cromwel in a rage immediately hastened to the house, and carried a body of 300 soldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him, that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears besought the Lord not to impose upon him: But there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He sat down for some time, and heard the debates. He beckoned Harrison, and told him, that he now judged the parliament ripe

ripe for a diſſolution. "Sir," ſaid Harriſon, "the "work is very great and dangerous: I deſire you ſeri- "ouſly to conſider, before you engage in it." "You "ſay well," replied the general; and thereupon ſat ſtill about a quarter of an hour. When the queſtion was ready to be put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, "This is the "time: I muſt do it." And ſuddenly ſtarting up, he loaded the parliament with the vileſt reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppreſſion, and robbery of the public. Then ſtamping with his foot, which was a ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, "For ſhame," ſaid he to the parliament, "get you gone: Give place to honeſter men; to "thoſe who will more faithfully diſcharge their truſt. "You are no longer a parliament: I tell you, you are "no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you: "He has choſen other inſtruments for carrying on his "work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming againſt this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, "O! Sir Harry "Vane, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from "Sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, "Thou art a whore maſter," ſaid he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou "art a drunkard and a glutton:" "And thou an extor- "tioner," to a fourth. He commanded a ſoldier to ſeize the mace. "What ſhall we do with this bauble? Here "take it away. It is you," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the houſe, "that have forced me upon this. I have "ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather "ſlay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the ſoldiers to clear the hall, he himſelf went out the laſt, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

CHAP. LX. 1653.

In this furious manner, which ſo well denotes his genuine character, did Cromwel, without the leaſt oppoſition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous aſſembly, which

CHAP. LX. 1653.

which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with aſtoniſhment at its crimes, and whoſe commencement was not more ardently deſired by the people than was its final diſſolution. All parties now reaped ſucceſſively the melancholy pleaſure of ſeeing the injuries, which they had ſuffered, revenged on their enemies; and that too by the ſame arts, which had been practiſed againſt them. The king had, in ſome inſtances, ſtretched his prerogative beyond its juſt bounds; and aided by the church, had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The preſbyterians checked the progreſs of the court and clergy, and excited, by cant and hypocriſy, the populace firſt to tumults, then to war, againſt the king, the peers, and all the royaliſts. No ſooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur, than the independents, under the appearance of ſtill greater ſanctity, inſtigated the army againſt them, and reduced them to ſubjection. The independents, amidſt their empty dreams of liberty, or rather of dominion, were oppreſſed by the rebellion of their own ſervants, and found themſelves at once expoſed to the inſults of power and hatred of the people. By recent, as well as all ancient example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with whatever pretences it may be covered, and whatever object it may purſue, muſt inevitably end at laſt in the arbitrary and deſpotic government of a ſingle perſon.

CHAP. LXI.

Cromwel's birth and private life——Barebone's parliament——Cromwel made protector——Peace with Holland——A new parliament——Insurrection of the royalists——State of Europe——War with Spain——Jamaica conquered——Success and death of admiral Blake——Domestic administration of Cromwel——Humble Petition and Advice——Dunkirk taken——Sickness of the protector——His death——And character.

CHAP. LXI.

1653.

Cromwel's birth and private life.

OLIVER CROMWEL, in whose hands the dissolution of the parliament had left the whole power, civil and military, of three kingdoms, was born at Huntingdon, the last year of the former century, of a good family; though he himself, being the son of a second brother, inherited but a small estate from his father. In the course of his education he had been sent to the university; but his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning; and he made small proficiency in his studies. He even threw himself into a dissolute and disorderly course of life; and he consumed, in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots, the more early years of his youth, and dissipated part of his patrimony. All of a sudden, the spirit of reformation seized him; he married, affected a grave and composed behaviour, entered into all the zeal and rigour of the puritanical party, and offered to restore to every one whatever sums he had formerly gained by gaming.

The

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

The same vehemence of temper, which had transported him into the extremes of pleasure, now distinguished his religious habits. His house was the resort of all the zealous clergy of the party; and his hospitality, as well as his liberalities to the silenced and deprived ministers, proved as chargeable as his former debaucheries. Though he had acquired a tolerable fortune by a maternal uncle, he found his affairs so injured by his expences, that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives, and apply himself, for some years, to agriculture as a profession. But this expedient served rather to involve him in farther debts and difficulties. The long prayers, which he said to his family in the morning, and again in the afternoon, consumed his own time and that of his ploughmen; and he reserved no leisure for the care of his temporal affairs. His active mind, superior to the low occupations, to which he was condemned, preyed upon itself; and he indulged his imagination in visions, illuminations, revelations; the great nourishment of that hypocondriacal temper, to which he was ever subject. Urged by his wants and his devotions, he had made a party with Hambden, his near kinsman, who was pressed only by the latter motive, to transport himself into New England, now become the retreat of the more zealous among the puritanical party; and it was an order of council, which obliged them to disembark and remain in England. The earl of Bedford, who possessed a large estate in the Fen Country, near the isle of Ely, having undertaken to drain these morasses, was obliged to apply to the king; and by the powers of the prerogative, he got commissioners appointed, who conducted that work, and divided the new acquired land among the several proprietors. He met with opposition from many, among whom Cromwel distinguished himself; and this was the first public

opportunity,

opportunity, which he had met with, of discovering the factious zeal and obstinacy of his character. CHAP. LXI. 1653.

FROM accident and intrigue he was chosen by the town of Cambridge member of the long parliament. His domestic affairs were then in great disorder; and he seemed not to possess any talents, which could qualify him to rise in that public sphere, into which he was now at last entered. His person was ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his voice untuneable, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. The fervor of his spirit frequently prompted him to rise in the house; but he was not heard with attention: His name, for above two years, is not to be found oftener than twice in any committee; and those committees, into which he was admitted, were chosen for affairs, which would more interest the zealots than the men of business. In comparison of the eloquent speakers and fine gentlemen of the house, he was entirely overlooked; and his friend Hambden alone was acquainted with the depth of his genius, and foretold, that, if a civil war should ensue, he would soon rise to eminence and distinction.

CROMWEL himself seems to have been conscious where his strength lay; and partly from that motive, partly from the uncontrolable fury of his zeal, he always joined that party, which pushed every thing to extremity against the king. He was active in promoting the famous remonstrance, which was the signal for all the ensuing commotions; and when, after a long debate, it was carried by a small majority, he told lord Falkland, that, if the question had been lost, he was resolved next day to have converted into ready money the remains of his fortune, and immediately to have left the kingdom. Nor was this resolution, he said, peculiar to himself: Many others of his party he knew to be equally determined.

HE

CHAP. LXI.

1653.

He was no less than forty-three years of age, when he first embraced the military profession; and by force of genius, without any master, he soon became an excellent officer; though perhaps he never reached the fame of a consummate commander. He raised a troop of horse; fixed his quarters in Cambridge; exerted great severity towards that university, which zealously adhered to the royal party; and showed himself a man who would go all lengths in favour of that cause, which he had espoused. He would not allow his soldiers to perplex their heads with those subtilties, of fighting by the king's authority against his person, and of obeying his majesty's orders signified by both houses of parliament: He plainly told them, that, if he met the king in battle, he would fire a pistol in his face as readily as against any other man. His troop of horse he soon augmented to a regiment; and he first instituted that discipline and inspired that spirit, which rendered the parliamentary armies in the end victorious. "Your troops," said he to Hambden, according to his own account*, "are most of them old "decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of "fellows; the king's forces are composed of gentlemen's "younger sons and persons of good quality. And do "you think, that the mean spirits of such base and low "fellows as ours will ever be able to encounter gentle-"men, that have honour and courage and resolution in "them? You must get men of spirit; and take it not "ill that I say, of a spirit, that is likely to go as far as "gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will still be "beaten, as you have hitherto been, in every encoun-"ter." He did as he proposed. He inlisted freeholders' and farmers' sons. He carefully invited into his regiment all the zealous fanatics throughout England. When

* Conference held at Whitehall.

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CHAP. LXI. 1653.

they were collected in a body, their enthusiastic spirit still rose to a higher pitch. Their colonel, from his own natural character, as well as from policy, was sufficiently inclined to encrease the flame. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished, he rewarded. The wild enthusiasm, together with valour and discipline, still propagated itself; and all men cast their eyes on so pious and so successful a leader. From low commands he rose with great rapidity to be really the first, though in appearance only the second, in the army. By fraud and violence, he soon rendered himself the first in the state. In proportion to the encrease of his authority, his talents seemed always to expand themselves; and he displayed every day new abilities, which had lain dormant, till the very emergence, by which they were called forth into action. All Europe stood astonished to see a nation, so turbulent and unruly, who, for some doubtful encroachments on their privileges, had dethroned and murdered an excellent prince, descended from a long line of monarchs, now at last subdued and reduced to slavery by one, who, a few years before, was no better than a private gentleman, whose name was not known in the nation, and who was little regarded even in that low sphere, to which he had always been confined.

The indignation, entertained by the people, against an authority, founded on such manifest usurpation, was not so violent as might naturally be expected. Congratulatory addresses, the first of the kind, were made to Cromwel by the fleet, by the army, even by many of the chief corporations and counties of England; but especially by the several congregations of saints, dispersed throughout the kingdom [p]. The royalists, though they could not love the man, who had embrued his hands in the blood of their sovereign, expected more lenity from him,

[p] See Milton's State Papers.

CHAP. LXI.

1653.

than from the jealous and imperious republicans, who had hitherto governed. The presbyterians were pleased to see those men, by whom they had been outwitted and expelled, now in their turn expelled and outwitted by their own servant; and they applauded him, for this last act of violence upon the parliament. These two parties composed the bulk of the nation, and kept the people in some tolerable temper. All men, likewise, harrassed with wars and factions, were glad to see any prospect of justice and settlement. And they deemed it less ignominious to submit to a person of such admirable talents and capacity than to a few ignoble enthusiastic hypocrites, who, under the name of a republic, had reduced them to a cruel subjection.

The republicans, being dethroned by Cromwel, were the party whose resentment he had the greatest reason to apprehend. That party, besides the independents, contained two sets of men, who are seemingly of the most opposite principles, but who were then united by a similitude of genius and of character. The first and most numerous were the millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, who insisted, that, dominion being founded in grace, all distinction of magistracy must be abolished, except what arose from piety and holiness; who expected suddenly the second coming of Christ upon earth; and who pretended, that the saints in the mean while, that is, themselves, were alone entitled to govern. The second were the deists, who had no other object than political liberty, who denied entirely the truth of revelation, and insinuated, that all the various sects, so heated against each other, were alike founded in folly and in error. Men of such daring geniuses were not contented with the established forms of civil government; but challenged a degree of freedom beyond what they expected ever to enjoy under any monarchy. Martin, Challoner, Harrington,

Sidney, Wildman, Nevil, were esteemed the heads of this small division. CHAP. LXI.

1653.

THE deists were perfectly hated by Cromwel, because he had no hold of enthusiasm, by which he could govern or over-reach them; he therefore treated them with great rigor and disdain, and usually denominated them the *heathens*. As the millenarians had a great interest in the army, it was much more important for him to gain their confidence; and their size of understanding afforded him great facility in deceiving them. Of late years, it had been so usual a topic of conversation to discourse of parliaments and councils and senates, and the soldiers themselves had been so much accustomed to enter into that spirit, that Cromwel thought it requisite to establish something which might bear the face of a commonwealth. He supposed, that God, in his providence, had thrown the whole right, as well as power, of government into his hands; and without any more ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he sent summons to a hundred and twenty-eight persons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to six of Ireland. He pretended, by his sole act and deed, to devolve upon these men the whole authority of the state. This legislative power they were to exercise during fifteen months; and they were afterwards to choose the same number of persons, who might succeed them in that high and important office.

Barebone's parliament.

THERE were great numbers at that time, always disposed to adhere to any power, which was uppermost, and to support the established government. This maxim is not peculiar to the people of that age; but what may be esteemed peculiar to them, is, that there prevailed a hypocritical phrase for expressing so prudential a conduct: It was called a waiting upon providence. When providence, therefore, was so kind as to bestow on these men,

CHAP. LXI.

1653. 4th July.

now assembled together, the supreme authority, they must have been very ungrateful, if, in their turn, they had been wanting in complaisance towards her. They immediately voted themselves a parliament; and having their own consent, as well as that of Oliver Cromwel, for their legislative authority, they now proceeded very gravely to the exercise of it.

In this notable assembly were some persons of the rank of gentlemen; but the far greatest part were low mechanics; fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, antinomians, independents; the very dregs of the fanatics. They began with seeking God by prayer: This office was performed by eight or ten *gifted* men of the assembly; and with so much success, that, according to the confession of all, they had never before, in any of their devout exercises, enjoyed so much of the holy spirit as was then communicated to them [q]. Their hearts were, no doubt, dilated when they considered the high dignity, to which they supposed themselves exalted. They had been told by Cromwel in his first discourse, that he never looked to see such a day, when Christ should be so owned [r].

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[q] Parl. Hist. vol. xx. p. 182.

[r] These are his expressions. "Indeed, I have but one word more to say "to you, though in that perhaps I shall show my weakness: It is by way "of encouragement to you in this work; give me leave to begin thus: I "confess I never looked to have seen such a day as this, it may be nor you "neither, when Jesus Christ should be so owned as he is at this day and in "this work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by your call, and you own him "by your willingness to appear for him, and you manifest this (as far as "poor creatures can do) to be a day of the power of Christ. I know you "will remember that scripture, *he makes his people willing in the day of his "power.* God manifests it to be the day of the power of Christ, having "thro' so much blood and so much tryal as has been upon this nation, he "makes this one of the greatest mercies, next to his own son, to have his "people called to the supreme authority. God hath owned his son, and "hath owned you, and hath made you to own him. I confess, I never "looked to have seen such a day: I did not." I suppose at this passage he cried a

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

They thought it, therefore, their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer, and for that great work, which, it was expected, the Lord was to bring forth among them. All fanatics, being conſecrated by their own fond imaginations, naturally bear an antipathy to the eccleſiaſtics, who claim a peculiar ſanctity, derived merely from their office and prieſtly character. This parliament took into conſideration the abolition of the clerical function, as favouring of popery; and the taking away of tythes, which they called a relict of Judaiſm. Learning alſo and the univerſities were deemed heatheniſh and unneceſſary: The common law was denominated a badge of the conqueſt and of Norman ſlavery; and they threatened the lawyers with a total abrogation of their profeſſion. Some ſteps were even taken towards an abolition of the chancery [s], the higheſt court of judicature in the kingdom; and the Moſaical law was intended to be eſtabliſhed as the ſole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence [t].

Of all the extraordinary ſchemes, adopted by theſe legiſlators, they had not leiſure to finiſh any, except that which eſtabliſhed the legal ſolemnization of marriage by the civil magiſtrate alone, without the interpoſition of the clergy. They found themſelves expoſed to the deriſion of the public. Among the fanatics of the houſe, there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, ſermons, and harangues. He was a leather-ſeller in London: His name *Praiſe-god Barebone*. This ridiculous name, which ſeems to have been choſen by ſome poet or allegoriſt to ſuit ſo ridiculous a perſonage,

cried: For he was very much given to weeping, and could at any time ſhed abundance of tears. The reſt of the ſpeech may be ſeen among Milton's State Papers, page 106. It is very curious, and full of the ſame obſcurity, confuſion, embarraſſment, and abſurdity, which appear in almoſt all Oliver's productions.

[s] Whitlocke, p. 543, 548. [t] Conference held at Whitehall.

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

ſtruck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this aſſembly the denomination of Barebone's parliament [u].

THE Dutch ambaſſadors endeavoured to enter into negotiation with this parliament; but though proteſtants and even preſbyterians, they met with a bad reception from thoſe who pretended to a ſanctity ſo much ſuperior. The Hollanders were regarded as worldly minded men, intent only on commerce and induſtry; whom it was fitting the ſaints ſhould firſt extirpate, ere they undertook that great work, to which they believed themſelves deſtined by providence, of ſubduing Antichriſt, the man of ſin, and extending to the uttermoſt bounds of the earth

[u] It was uſual for the pretended ſaints at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, William, which they regarded as heathenish, into others more ſanctified and godly: Even the New Teſtament names, James, Andrew, John, Peter, were not held in ſuch regard as thoſe which were borrowed from the Old Teſtament, Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joſhua, Zerobabel. Sometimes a whole godly ſentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury ſaid to be encloſed in the county of Suſſex about that time.

Accepted, Trevor of Norſham.	Return, Spelman of Watling.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.	Be Faithful, Joiner of Britling.
Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield.	Fly Debate, Roberts of the ſame.
Make Peace, Heaton of Hare.	Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
God Reward, Smart of Fivehurſt.	
Standfaſt on High, Stringer of Crowhurſt.	More Fruit, Fowler of Eaſt Hadley.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.	Hope for, Bending of the ſame.
Called, Lower of the ſame.	Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.	Weep not, Billing of the ſame.
	Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

See Brome's Travels into England, p. 279. "Cromwel," ſays Cleveland, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Teſtament. You may learn "the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muſter-"maſter has no other liſt, than the firſt chapter of St. Matthew." The brother of this Praiſe-god Barebone had for name, *If Chriſt had not died for you, you had been damned Barebone.* But the people, tired of this long name, retained only the laſt word, and gave him commonly the appellation of *Damn'd Barebone.*

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the kingdom of the Redeemer [w]. The ambaſſadors, finding themſelves proſcribed, not as enemies of England, but of Chriſt, remained in aſtoniſhment, and knew not which was moſt to be admired, the implacable ſpirit or egregious folly of theſe pretended ſaints. 1653.

CROMWEL began to be aſhamed of his legiſlature. If he ever had any other deſign in ſummoning ſo prepoſterous an aſſembly beyond amuſing the populace and the army; he had intended to alarm the clergy and lawyers; and he had ſo far ſucceeded as to make them deſire any other government, which might ſecure their profeſſions, now brought in danger by theſe deſperate fanatics. Cromwel himſelf was diſſatisfied, that the parliament, though they had derived all their authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord [x], and to inſiſt already on their divine commiſſion. He had been careful to ſummon in his writs ſeveral perſons entirely devoted to him. By concert, theſe met early; and it was mentioned by ſome among them, that the ſitting of this parliament any longer would be of no ſervice to the nation. They haſtened, therefore, to Cromwel, along with Rouſe, their ſpeaker; and by a formal deed or aſſignment, reſtored into his hands that ſupreme authority, which they had ſo lately received from him. General Harriſon and about twenty more remained in the houſe; and that they might prevent the reign of the ſaints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up proteſts. They were ſoon interrupted by colonel White, with a party of ſoldiers. He aſked them what they did there. "We are ſeeking the Lord," ſaid they. "Then you may go elſewhere," replied he: "For to "my certain knowledge, he has not been here theſe "many years." 12th of December.

w Thurloe, vol. i. p. 273, 591. Alſo Stubbe, p. 91, 92.
x Thurloe, vol. i. p. 393.

CHAP. LXI.

1653. THE military being now, in appearance, as well as in reality, the ſole power which prevailed in the nation, Cromwel thought fit to indulge a new fancy: For he ſeems not to have had any deliberate plan in all theſe alterations. Lambert, his creature, who, under the appearance of obſequiouſneſs to him, indulged an unbounded ambition, propoſed in a council of officers to adopt another ſcheme of government, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a ſingle perſon, who ſhould be known by the appellation of protector. Without delay, he prepared what was called the inſtrument of government, containing the plan of this new legiſlature; and as it was ſuppoſed to be agreeable to the general, it was immediately voted by the council of officers. Cromwel was declared protector; and with great ſolemnity inſtalled in that high office.

Cromwel made protector.

So little were theſe men endowed with the ſpirit of legiſlation, that they confeſſed, or rather boaſted, that they had employed only four days in drawing this inſtrument, by which the whole government of the three kingdoms was pretended to be regulated and adjuſted to all ſucceeding generations. There appears no difficulty in believing them; when it is conſidered how crude and undigeſted a ſyſtem of civil polity they endeavoured to eſtabliſh. The chief articles of the inſtrument are theſe: A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector choſe one. The protector was appointed ſupreme magiſtrate of the commonwealth: In his name was all juſtice to be adminiſtered; from him were all magiſtracy and honours derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treaſon; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved.

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The right of peace, war, and alliance, reſted in him; but in theſe particulars he was to act entirely by the advice and with the conſent of his council. The power of the ſword was veſted in the protector, jointly with the parliament, while it was ſitting, or with the council of ſtate in the intervals. He was obliged to ſummon a parliament every three years, and allow them to ſit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution. The bills, which they paſſed, were to be preſented to the protector for his conſent; but if within twenty days it was not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of parliament. A ſtanding army for Britain and Ireland was eſtabliſhed, of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horſe; and funds were aſſigned for their ſupport. Theſe were not to be diminiſhed without conſent of the protector; and in this article alone he aſſumed a negative. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the next meeting of parliament. The chancellor, treaſurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief juſtices of both the benches muſt be choſen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death, the place was immediately to be ſupplied by the council. This was the inſtrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and ſolemnly ſworn to by Oliver Cromwel. The council of ſtate, named by the inſtrument, were fifteen; men entirely devoted to the protector, and by reaſon of the oppoſition among themſelves in party and principles, not likely ever to combine againſt him.

Cromwel ſaid, that he accepted the dignity of protector, merely that he might exert the duty of a conſtable, and preſerve peace in the nation. Affairs indeed were brought

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

brought to that pass, by the furious animosities of the several factions, that the extensive authority and even arbitrary power of some first magistrate was become a necessary evil, in order to keep the people from relapsing into blood and confusion. The independents were too small a party ever to establish a popular government, or entrust the nation, where they had so little interest, with the free choice of its representatives. The presbyterians had adopted the violent maxims of persecution; incompatible at all times with the peace of society, much more with the wild zeal of those numerous sects, which prevailed among the people. The royalists were so much enraged by the injuries, which they had suffered, that the other prevailing parties would never submit to them, who, they knew, were enabled, merely by the execution of the ancient laws, to take severe vengeance upon them. Had Cromwel been guilty of no crime but this temporary usurpation, the plea of necessity and public good, which he alledged, might be allowed, in every view, a reasonable excuse for his conduct.

DURING the variety of ridiculous and distracted scenes, which the civil government presented in England, the military force was exerted with vigor, conduct, and unanimity; and never did the kingdom appear more formidable to all foreign nations. The English fleet, consisting of a hundred sail, and commanded by Monk and Dean, and under them by Pen and Lauson, met, near the coast of Flanders, with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, and commanded by Tromp. The two republics were not inflamed by any national antipathy, and their interests very little interfered: Yet few battles have been disputed with more fierce and obstinate courage than were those many naval combats, which were fought during this short, but violent war. The desire of remaining sole lords of the ocean animated these states to an honourable emu-

emulation againſt each other. After a battle of two days, in the firſt of which Dean was killed, the Dutch, inferior in the ſize of their ſhips, were obliged, with great loſs, to retire into their harbours. Blake, towards the end of the fight, joined his countrymen with 18 ſail. The Engliſh fleet lay off the coaſt of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of that republic. CHAP. LXI. 1653.

THE ambaſſadors, whom the Dutch had ſent over to England, gave them hopes of peace. But as they could obtain no ceſſation of hoſtilities, the ſtates, unwilling to ſuffer any longer the loſs and diſhonour of being blockaded by their enemy, made the utmoſt efforts to recover their injured honour. Never on any occaſion did the power and vigor of that republic appear in a more conſpicuous light. In a few weeks, they had repaired and manned their fleet; and they equipped ſome ſhips of a larger ſize, than any which they had hitherto ſent to ſea. Tromp iſſued out, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than to yield the conteſt. He met with the enemy, commanded by Monk; and both ſides immediately ruſhed into the combat. Tromp, gallantly animating his men, with his ſword drawn, was ſhot through the heart with a muſquet ball. This event alone decided the battle in favour of the Engliſh. Though near thirty ſhips of the Dutch were ſunk and taken, they little regarded this loſs compared with that of their brave admiral. 29th July.

MEANWHILE the negotiations of peace were continually advancing. The ſtates, overwhelmed with the expence of the war, terrified by their loſſes, and mortified by their defeats, were extremely deſirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they found, by experience, too powerful for them. The king having ſhown an inclination to ſerve on board their fleet; though they expreſſed their ſenſe of the honour intended them, they declined an

offer,

CHAP. LXI.

1653. offer, which might inflame the quarrel with the Engliſh commonwealth. The great obſtacle to the peace was found not to be any animoſity on the part of the Engliſh; but on the contrary a deſire too earneſt of union and confederacy. Cromwel had revived the chimerical ſcheme of a coalition with the united provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, intereſts, and councils. This project appeared ſo wild to the ſtates general, that they wondered any man of ſenſe could ever entertain it; and they refuſed to enter into conferences with regard to a propoſal, which could ſerve only to delay any practicable ſcheme of accommodation. The peace was at laſt ſigned by Cromwel, now inveſted with the dignity of protector; and it proves ſufficiently, that the war had been very impolitic, ſince, after the moſt ſignal victories, no terms more advantageous could be obtained. A defenſive league was made between the two republics. They agreed, each of them, to baniſh the enemies of the other; thoſe who had been concerned in the maſſacre of Amboyna were to be puniſhed, if any remained alive; the honour of the flag was yielded to the Engliſh; eighty-five thouſand pounds were ſtipulated to be paid by the Dutch Eaſt India company for loſſes, which the Engliſh company had ſuſtained; and the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies was promiſed to be ceded to the latter.

1654.

15th April.

Peace with Holland.

Cromwel, jealous of the connexions between the royal family and that of Orange, inſiſted on a ſeparate article; that neither the young prince nor any of his family ſhould ever be inveſted with the dignity of ſtadholder. The province of Holland, ſtrongly prejudiced againſt that office, which they eſteemed dangerous to liberty, ſecretly ratified this article. The protector, knowing that the other provinces would never be induced to make ſuch a conceſſion, was ſatisfied with this ſecurity.

The

CHAP. LXI. 1654.

THE Dutch war, being ſucceſsful, and the peace reaſonable, brought credit to Cromwel's adminiſtration. An act of juſtice, which he exerciſed at home, gave likewiſe ſatisfaction to the people; though the regularity of it may perhaps appear ſomewhat doubtful. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and joined with him in the ſame commiſſion [y], fancying himſelf to be inſulted, came upon the exchange, armed and attended by ſeveral ſervants. By miſtake, he fell on a gentleman, whom he took for the perſon that had given him the offence; and having butchered him with many wounds, he and all his attendants took ſhelter in the houſe of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who had connived at this baſe enterprize [z]. The populace ſurrounded the houſe, and threatened to ſet it on fire. Cromwel ſent a guard, who ſeized all the criminals. They were brought to trial: And notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ambaſſador, who pleaded the privileges of his office, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill. The laws of nations were here plainly violated: But the crime committed by the Portugueſe gentleman was to the laſt degree atrocious; and the vigorous chaſtiſement of it, ſuiting ſo well the undaunted character of Cromwel, was univerſally approved of at home and admired among foreign nations. The ſituation of Portugal obliged that court to acquieſce; and the ambaſſador ſoon after ſigned with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the Engliſh commerce.

ANOTHER act of ſeverity, but neceſſary in his ſituation, was, at the very ſame time, exerciſed by the protector, in the capital puniſhment of Gerard and Vowel, two royaliſts, who were accuſed of conſpiring againſt his life. He had erected a high court of juſtice for their trial; an infringement of the ancient laws, which at this

[y] Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 429. [z] Ibid. vol. i. p. 616.

CHAP. LXI.

1654.

time was become familiar, but one to which no cuſtom or precedent could reconcile the nation. Juries were found altogether unmanageable. The reſtleſs Lilburn, for new offences, had been brought to a new trial; and had been acquitted with new triumph and exultation. If no other method of conviction had been deviſed during this illegal and unpopular government, all its enemies were aſſured of entire impunity.

3d of September. A new parliament.

THE protector had occaſion to obſerve the prejudices entertained againſt his government, by the diſpoſition of the parliament, which he ſummoned on the third of September, that day of the year, on which he gained his two great victories of Dunbar and Worceſter, and which he always regarded as fortunate for him. It muſt be confeſſed, that, if we are left to gather Cromwel's intentions from his inſtrument of government, it is ſuch a motley piece, that we cannot eaſily conjecture, whether he ſeriouſly meant to eſtabliſh a tyranny or a republic. On one hand, a firſt magiſtrate, in ſo extenſive a government, ſeemed requiſite both for the dignity and tranquillity of the ſtate; and the authority, which he aſſumed as protector, was, in ſome reſpects, inferior to the prerogatives, which the laws entruſted and ſtill entruſt to the king. On the other hand, the legiſlative power, which he reſerved to himſelf and council, together with ſo great an army, independant of the parliament, were bad prognoſtics of his intention to ſubmit to a civil and legal conſtitution. But if this was not his intention, the method, in which he diſtributed and conducted the elections, being ſo favourable to liberty, form an inconſiſtency which is not eaſily accounted for. He deprived of their right of election all the ſmall burroughs, places the moſt expoſed to influence and corruption. Of 400 members, which repreſented England, 270 were choſen by the counties. The reſt were elected by London, and the more conſiderable

able corporations. The lower populace too, so easily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections: An estate of 200 pounds value was requisite to entitle any one to a vote. The elections of this parliament were conducted with perfect freedom; and, excepting that such of the royalists as had borne arms against the parliament and all their sons were excluded, a more fair representation of the people could not be desired nor expected. Thirty members were returned from Scotland; as many from Ireland. CHAP. LXI. 1654.

THE protector seems to have been disappointed, when he found, that all these precautions, which were probably nothing but covers to his ambition, had not procured him the confidence of the public. Though Cromwel's administration was less odious to every party than that of any other party, yet was it entirely acceptable to none. The royalists had been instructed by the king to remain quiet, and to cover themselves under the appearance of republicans; and they found in this latter faction such inveterate hatred against the protector, that they could not wish for more zealous adversaries to his authority. It was maintained by them, that the pretence of liberty and popular election was but a new artifice of this great deceiver, in order to lay asleep the deluded nation, and give himself leisure to rivet their chains more securely upon them: That in the instrument of government he openly declared his intention of still retaining the same mercenary army, by whose assistance he had subdued the ancient, established government, and who would with less scruple obey him, in overturning, whenever he should please to order them, that new system, which he himself had been pleased to model: That being sensible of the danger and uncertainty of all military government, he endeavoured to intermix some appearance, and but an appearance, of civil administration, and to balance the army

CHAP. LXI. 1654.

army by a seeming consent of the people: That the absurd trial, which he had made, of a parliament, elected by himself, appointed perpetually to elect their successors, plainly proved, that he aimed at nothing but temporary expedients, was totally averse to a free republican government, and possessed not that mature and deliberate reflection, which could qualify him to act the part of a legislator: That his imperious character, which had betrayed itself in so many incidents, could never seriously submit to legal limitations; nor would the very image of popular government be longer upheld than while conformable to his arbitrary will and pleasure: And that the best policy was to oblige him to take off the mask at once; and either submit entirely to that parliament which he had summoned, or by totally rejecting its authority, leave himself no resource but his seditious and enthusiastic army.

In prosecution of these views, the parliament, having heard the protector's speech, three hours long [a], and having chosen Lenthal for their speaker, immediately entered into a discussion of the pretended instrument of government, and of that authority, which Cromwel, under the title of protector, had assumed over the nation. The greatest liberty was used in arraigning this new dignity; and even the personal character and conduct of Cromwel escaped not without censure. The utmost, which could be obtained by the officers and by the court party, for so they were called, was to protract the debate by arguments and long speeches, and prevent the decision of a question, which, they were sensible, would be carried against them by a great majority. The protector, surprised and enraged at this refractory spirit in the parliament, which however he had so much reason to expect, sent for them to the painted chamber, and with

[a] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 588.

an

an air of great authority inveighed againſt their conduct. He told them, that nothing could be more abſurd than for them to diſpute his title; ſince the ſame inſtrument of government, which made them a parliament, had inveſted him with the protectorſhip; that ſome points in the new conſtitution were ſuppoſed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretence, to be altered or diſputed; that among theſe were the government of the nation by a ſingle perſon and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the ſucceſſion of new parliaments, and liberty of conſcience; and that, with regard to theſe particulars, there was reſerved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumſtances of government, he confeſſed himſelf no wiſe intitled. CHAP. LXI. 1654.

THE protector now found the neceſſity of exacting a ſecurity, which, had he foreſeen the ſpirit of the houſe, he would with better grace have required at their firſt meeting [b]. He obliged the members to ſign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propoſe or conſent to any alteration in the government, as it was ſettled in a ſingle perſon and a parliament; and he placed guards at the door of the houſe, who allowed none but ſubſcribers to enter. Moſt of the members, after ſome heſitation, ſubmitted to this condition; but retained the ſame refractory ſpirit, which they had diſcovered in their firſt debates. The inſtrument of government was taken in pieces, and examined, article by article, with the moſt ſcrupulous accuracy: Very free topics were advanced with the general approbation of the houſe: And during the whole courſe of their proceedings, they neither ſent up one bill to the protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed, that conſpiracies were entered into between the members and ſome malcontent officers; he haſtened to a diſſolution of ſo dangerous an aſſembly.

[b] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 620.

CHAP. LXI.

1655. 22d of Jan.

By the inſtrument of government, to which he had ſworn, no parliament could be diſſolved, till it had ſate five months; but Cromwel pretended, that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practiſed in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to this reckoning, being elapſed; the parliament was ordered to attend the protector, who made them a tedious, confuſed, angry harangue, and diſmiſſed them. Were we to judge of Cromwel's capacity by this, and indeed by all his other compoſitions, we ſhould be apt to entertain no very favourable idea of it. But in the great variety of human geniuſes, there are ſome, which, though they ſee their object clearly and diſtinctly in general; yet, when they come to unfold its parts by diſcourſe or writing, loſe that luminous conception, which they had before attained. All accounts agree in aſcribing to Cromwel a tireſome, dark, unintelligible elocution, even when he had no intention to diſguiſe his meaning: Yet no man's actions were ever, in ſuch a variety of difficult incidents, more deciſive and judicious.

The electing of a diſcontented parliament is a proof of a diſcontented nation: The angry and abrupt diſſolution of that parliament is ſure always to encreaſe the general diſcontent. The members of this aſſembly, returning to their counties, propagated that ſpirit of mutiny, which they had exerted in the houſe. Sir Harry Vane and the old republicans, who maintained the indiſſoluble authority of the long parliament, encouraged the murmurs againſt the preſent uſurpation; though they acted ſo cautiouſly as to give the protector no handle againſt them. Wildman and ſome others of that party carried ſtill farther their conſpiracies againſt the protector's authority. The royaliſts, obſerving this general ill will towards the eſtabliſhment, could no longer be retained in ſubjection; but

but fancied, that every one, who was diſſatisfied like them, had alſo embraced the ſame views and inclinations. They did not conſider, that the old parliamentary party, though many of them were diſpleaſed with Cromwel, who had diſpoſſeſſed them of their power, were ſtill more apprehenſive of any ſucceſs to the royal cauſe; whence, beſides a certain proſpect of the ſame inconvenience, they had ſo much reaſon to dread the ſevereſt vengeance for their paſt tranſgreſſions.

Inſurrection of the royaliſts.

In concert with the king a conſpiracy was entered into by the royaliſts throughout England, and a day of general riſing appointed. Information of this deſign was conveyed to Cromwel. The protector's adminiſtration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his ſecretary, had ſpies every where. Manning, who had acceſs to the king's family, kept a regular correſpondence with him. And it was not difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy, ſo generally diffuſed among a party, who valued themſelves more on zeal and courage, than on ſecrecy and ſobriety. Many of the royaliſts were thrown into priſon. Others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the undertaking, and remained at home. In one place alone the conſpiracy broke into action. Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen of the weſt, entered Saliſbury with about 200 horſe; at the very time when the ſheriff and judges were holding the aſſizes. Theſe they made priſoners; and they proclaimed the king. Contrary to their expectations, they received no acceſſion of force; ſo prevalent was the terror of the eſtabliſhed government. Having in vain wandered about for ſome time, they were totally diſcouraged; and one troop of horſe was able at laſt to ſuppreſs them. The leaders of the conſpiracy, being taken priſoners, were capitally puniſhed. The reſt were ſold for ſlaves, and tranſported to Barbadoes.

11th of March.

CHAP. LXI.

1655.

THE eaſy ſubduing of this inſurrection, which, by the boldneſs of the undertaking, ſtruck at firſt a great terror into the nation, was a ſingular felicity to the protector, who could not, without danger, have brought together any conſiderable body of his mutinous army, in order to ſuppreſs it. The very inſurrection itſelf he regarded as a fortunate event; ſince it proved the reality of thoſe conſpiracies, which his enemies, on every occaſion, repreſented as mere fictions, invented to colour his tyrannical ſeverities. He reſolved to keep no longer any terms with the royaliſts, who, though they were not perhaps the moſt implacable of his enemies, were thoſe whom he could oppreſs under the moſt plauſible pretences, and who met with leaſt countenance and protection from his adherents. He iſſued an edict with the conſent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from that whole party; in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expences, to which their mutinous diſpoſition continually expoſed the public. Without regard to compoſitions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity, all the royaliſts, however harraſſed with former oppreſſions, were obliged anew to redeem themſelves by great ſums of money; and many of them were reduced by theſe multiplied diſaſters to extreme poverty. Whoever was known to be diſaffected, or even lay under any ſuſpicion, though no guilt could be proved againſt him, was expoſed to this new exaction.

IN order to raiſe that impoſition, which commonly paſſed by the name of decimation, the protector inſtituted twelve major-generals; and divided the whole kingdom of England into ſo many military juriſdictions [c]. Theſe men, aſſiſted by commiſſioners, had power to ſubject whom they pleaſed to decimation, to levy all the taxes impoſed by the protector and his council, and to

[c] Parl. Hiſt. vol. xx. p. 433.

imprison

impriſon any perſon who ſhould be expoſed to their jealouſy or ſuſpicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the protector himſelf and his council. Under colour of theſe powers, which were ſufficiently exorbitant, the major-generals exerciſed an authority ſtill more arbitrary, and acted as if abſolute maſters of the property and perſon of every ſubject. All reaſonable men now concluded, that the very maſque of liberty was thrown aſide, and that the nation was for ever ſubjected to military and deſpotic government, exerciſed not in the legal manner of European nations, but according to the maxims of eaſtern tyranny. Not only the ſupreme magiſtrate owed his authority to illegal force and uſurpation: He had parcelled out the people into ſo many ſubdiviſions of ſlavery, and had delegated to his inferior miniſters the ſame unlimited authority, which he himſelf had ſo violently aſſumed.

A GOVERNMENT, totally military and deſpotic, is almoſt ſure, after ſome time, to fall into impotence and languor: But when it immediately ſucceeds a legal conſtitution, it may, at firſt, to foreign nations appear very vigorous and active, and may exert with more unanimity that power, ſpirit, and riches, which had been acquired under a better form. It ſeems now proper, after ſo long an interval, to look abroad to the general ſtate of Europe, and to conſider the meaſures, which England, at this time, embraced in its negotiations with the neighbouring princes. The moderate temper and unwarlike genius of the two laſt princes, the extreme difficulties under which they laboured at home, and the great ſecurity which they enjoyed from foreign enemies, had rendered them negligent of the tranſactions on the continent; and England, during their reigns, had been, in a manner, overlooked in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The bold and reſtleſs genius of the protector led him to extend his

State of Europe.

CHAP. LXI. 1655.

alliances and enterprizes to every corner of Chriſtendom; and partly from the aſcendant of his magnanimous ſpirit, partly from the ſituation of foreign kingdoms, the weight of England, even under its moſt legal and braveſt princes, was never more ſenſibly felt than during this unjuſt and violent uſurpation.

A WAR of thirty years, the moſt ſignal and moſt deſtructive that had appeared in modern annals, was at laſt finiſhed in Germany [d]; and by the treaty of Weſtphalia, were compoſed thoſe fatal quarrels, which had been excited by the palatine's precipitate acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. The young palatine was reſtored to part of his dignities and of his dominions [e]. The rights, privileges, and authority of the ſeveral members of the Germanic body were fixed and aſcertained: Sovereign princes and free ſtates were in ſome degree reduced to obedience under laws: And by the valour of the heroic Guſtavus, the enterprizes of the active Richelieu, the intrigues of the artful Mazarine, was in part effected, after an infinite expence of blood and treaſure, what had been fondly expected and loudly demanded from the feeble efforts of the pacific James, ſeconded by the ſcanty ſupplies of his jealous parliaments.

SWEDEN, which had acquired by conqueſt large dominions in the north of Germany, was engaged in enterprizes, which promiſed her, from her ſucceſs and valour, ſtill more extenſive acquiſitions on the ſide both of Poland and of Denmark. Charles X. who had mounted the throne of that kingdom after the voluntary reſignation of Chriſtina, being ſtimulated by the fame of Guſtavus as well as by his own martial diſpoſition, carried his con-

[d] In 1648.

[e] This prince, during the civil wars, had much neglected his uncle and payed court to the parliament: He accepted of a penſion of 8000 l. a year from them, and took a place in their aſſembly of divines.

quering arms to the south of the Baltic, and gained the celebrated victory of Warsaw, which had been obstinately disputed during the space of three days. The protector, at the time his alliance was courted by every power in Europe, anxiously courted the alliance of Sweden; and he was fond of forming a confederacy with a protestant power of such renown, even though it threatened the whole north with conquest and subjection. CHAP. LXI. 1655.

THE transactions of the parliament and protector with France had been various and complicated. The emissaries of Richelieu had furnished fuel to the flame of rebellion, when it first broke out in Scotland; but after the conflagration had diffused itself, the French court, observing the materials to be of themselves sufficiently combustible, found it unnecessary any longer to animate the British malcontents to an opposition of their sovereign. On the contrary, they offered their mediation for composing these intestine disorders; and their ambassadors, from decency, pretended to act in concert with the court of England, and to receive directions from a prince, with whom their master was connected by so near an affinity. Meanwhile, Richelieu died, and soon after him, the French king, Louis XIII. leaving his son an infant four years old, and his widow, Anne of Austria, regent of the kingdom. Cardinal Mazarine succeeded Richelieu in the ministry; and the same general plan of policy, though by men of such opposite characters, was still continued in the French counsels. The establishment of royal authority, the reduction of the Austrian family, were pursued with ardor and success; and every year brought an accession of force and grandeur to the French monarchy. Not only battles were won, towns and fortresses taken; the genius too of the nation seemed gradually to improve, and to compose itself to the spirit of dutiful obedience and of steddy enterprize. A Condé, a Turenne were formed;

CHAP. LXI. 1655.

and the troops animated by their valour, and guided by their diſcipline, acquired every day a greater aſcendant over the Spaniards. All of a ſudden, from ſome intrigues of the court, and ſome diſcontents in the courts of judicature, inteſtine commotions were excited, and every thing relapſed into confuſion. But theſe rebellions of the French, neither ennobled by the ſpirit of liberty, nor diſgraced by the fanatical extravagancies, which diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh civil wars, were conducted with little bloodſhed, and made but ſmall impreſſion on the minds of the people. Though ſeconded by the force of Spain, and conducted by the prince of Condé, the malcontents, in a little time, were either expelled or ſubdued; and the French monarchy, having loſt a few of its conqueſts, returned, with freſh vigor, to the acquiſition of new dominion.

THE queen of England and her ſon, Charles, during theſe commotions, paſſed moſt of their time at Paris; and notwithſtanding their near connexion of blood, received but few civilities, and ſtill leſs ſupport, from the French court. Had the queen regent been ever ſo much inclined to aſſiſt the Engliſh prince, the diſorders of her own affairs, for a long time, would have rendered ſuch intentions abſolutely impracticable. The baniſhed queen had a moderate penſion aſſigned her; but it was ſo ill payed, and her credit ran ſo low, that, one morning, when the cardinal de Retz waited on her, ſhe informed him, that her daughter, the princeſs Henrietta, was obliged to lie abed, for want of a fire to warm her. To ſuch a condition was reduced, in the midſt of Paris, a queen of England, and daughter of Henry IV. of France!

THE Engliſh parliament, however, having aſſumed the ſovereignty of the ſtate, reſented the countenance, cold as it was, which the French court gave the unfortunate monarch. On pretence of injuries, of which the Engliſh

Engliſh merchants complained, they iſſued letters of reprisal upon the French; and Blake went ſo far as to attack and ſeize a whole ſquadron of ſhips, which were carrying ſupplies to Dunkirk, then cloſely beſieged by the Spaniards. That town, diſappointed of theſe ſupplies, fell into the enemies' hands. The French miniſters ſoon found it requiſite to change their meaſures. They treated Charles with ſuch affected indifference, that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and prevent the indignity of being deſired to leave the kingdom. He went firſt to Spaw, thence he retired to Cologne; where he lived two years, on a ſmall penſion, about 6000 pounds a year, payed him by the court of France, and on ſome contributions ſent him by his friends in England. In the management of his family, he diſcovered a diſpoſition to order and œconomy; and his temper, cheerful, careleſs, and ſociable, was more than a ſufficient compenſation for that empire, of which his enemies had bereaved him. Sir Edward Hyde, created lord-chancellor, and the marqueſs of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidents.

If the French miniſtry had thought it prudent to bend under the Engliſh parliament, they deemed it ſtill more neceſſary to pay deference to the protector, when he aſſumed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom all the councils of France were directed, was artful and vigilant, ſupple and patient, falſe and intriguing; deſirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, and placing his honour more in the final ſucceſs of his meaſures than in the ſplendor and magnanimity of the means, which he employed. Cromwel, by his imperious character, rather than by the advantage of his ſituation, acquired an aſcendant over this man; and every propoſal made by the protector, however unreaſonable in itſelf and urged with whatever inſolence, met with a ready compliance

CHAP. LXI. 1655.

pliance from the politic and timid cardinal. Bourdeaux was ſent over to England as miniſter; and all circumſtances of reſpect were payed to the daring uſurper, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, a prince ſo nearly related to the crown of France. With indefatigable patience did Bourdeaux conduct this negotiation, which Cromwel ſeemed entirely to neglect; and though privateers with Engliſh commiſſions committed daily depredations on the French commerce, Mazarine was content, in hopes of a fortunate iſſue, ſtill to ſubmit to theſe indignities [f].

THE court of Spain, leſs connected with the unfortunate royal family, and reduced to greater diſtreſs than the French monarchy, had been ſtill more forward in her advances to the proſperous parliament and protector. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spaniſh envoy, was the firſt public miniſter, who recognized the authority of the new republic; and in return for this civility, Aſcham was ſent envoy into Spain by the parliament. No ſooner had this miniſter arrived in Madrid, than ſome of the baniſhed royaliſts, inflamed by that inveterate hatred, which animated the Engliſh factions, broke into his chamber, and murdered him together with his ſecretary. Immediately, they took ſanctuary in the churches; and aſſiſted by the general favour, which every where attended the royal cauſe, were enabled, moſt of them, to make their eſcape. Only one of the criminals ſuffered death; and the parliament ſeemed to reſt contented with this atonement.

SPAIN, at this time, aſſailed every where by vigorous enemies from without, and labouring under many internal

[f] Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 103, 619, 653. In the treaty, which was ſigned after long negociation, the protector's name was inſerted before the king's in that copy which remained in England. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 116. See farther, vol. vii. p. 178.

diſorders,

disorders, retained nothing of her former grandeur, except the haughty pride of her counsels, and the hatred and jealousy of her neighbours. Portugal had rebelled, and established her monarchy in the house of Braganza: Catalonia, complaining of violated privileges, had revolted to France: Naples was shaken with popular convulsions: The Low Countries were invaded with superior forces, and seemed ready to change their master: The Spanish infantry, anciently so formidable, had been annihilated by Condé in the fields of Rocroy: And though the same prince, banished France, sustained by his activity and valour, the falling fortunes of Spain, he could only hope to protract, not prevent, the ruin, with which that monarchy was visibly threatened. CHAP. LXI. 1655.

Had Cromwel understood and regarded the interests of his country, he would have supported the declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition of France, and preserved that balance of power, on which the greatness and security of England so much depend. Had he studied only his own interests, he would have maintained an exact neutrality between those two great monarchies; nor would he have hazarded his ill-acquired and unsettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend assistance to domestic faction, and overturn his tottering throne. But his magnanimity undervalued danger: His active dispositon and avidity of extensive glory, made him incapable of repose: And as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, no sooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he should invade with his victorious arms.

War with Spain.

The extensive dominion and yet extreme weakness of Spain in the West Indies; the vigorous courage and great naval power of England; were circumstances, which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterprizing protector, and made him hope, that he might,

CHAP. LXI. 1655.

might, by some gainful conquest, render for ever illustrious that dominion, which he had assumed over his country. Should he fail of these durable acquisitions, the Indian treasures, which must every year cross the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a sure prey to the English navy, and would support his military force, without his laying new burthens on the discontented people. From France a vigorous resistance must be expected: No plunder, no conquests could be hoped for: The progress of his arms, even if attended with success, must there be slow and gradual: And the advantages acquired, however real, would be less striking to the ignorant multitude, whom it was his interest to allure. The royal family, so closely connected with the French monarch, might receive great assistance from that neighbouring kingdom; and an army of French protestants, landed in England, would be able, he dreaded, to unite the most opposite factions against the present usurpation [g].

These motives of policy were probably seconded by his bigotted prejudices; as no human mind ever contained so strange a mixture of sagacity and absurdity as that of this extraordinary personage. The Swedish alliance, though much contrary to the interests of England, he had contracted, merely from his zeal for protestantism [h]; and Sweden being closely connected with France, he could not hope to maintain that confederacy, in which he so much prided himself, should a rupture ensue between England and this latter kingdom [i]. The Hugonots, he expected, would meet with better treatment,

[g] See the account of the negotiations with France and Spain by Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759.

[h] He proposed to Sweden a general league and confederacy of all the protestants. Whitlocke, p. 620. Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 1. In order to judge of the maxims, by which he conducted his foreign politics, see farther Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 295, 343, 443. vol. vii. p. 174.

[i] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759.

while

while he engaged in a close union with their sovereign [k]. And as the Spaniards were much more papists than the French, were much more exposed to the old puritanical hatred [l], and had even erected the bloody tribunal of the inquisition, whose rigours they had refused to mitigate on Cromwel's solicitation [m]; he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with such idolaters could not fail of protection from heaven [n]. A preacher likewise, inspired, as was supposed, by a prophetic spirit, bid him *go and prosper*; calling him *a stone cut out of the mountains without hands, that would break the pride of the Spaniard, crush Antichrist, and make way for the purity of the Gospel over the whole world* [o].

ACTUATED equally by those bigotted, those ambitious, and those interested motives, the protector equipped two considerable squadrons; and while he was making these preparations, the neighbouring states, ignorant of his intentions, remained in suspence, and looked with anxious expectation on what side the storm would discharge itself. One of the squadrons, consisting of thirty capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whose fame was now spread over Europe. No English fleet, except during the Crusades, had ever before sailed in those seas; and from one extremity to the other, there was no naval force, Christian or Mahometan, able to resist them. The Roman pontiff, whose weakness and whose pride equally provoke attacks, dreaded invasion from a power, which professed the most inveterate enmity against him, and which so little regulated its movements by the usual motives of interest and prudence. Blake, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded

k Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759. l Id. ibid.

m Id. ibid. Don Alonzo said, that the Indian trade and the inquisition were his master's two eyes, and the protector insisted upon the putting out both of them at once. n Carrington, p. 191. o Bates.

and

CHAP. LXI. 1655.

and obtained from the duke of Tuſcany reparation for ſome loſſes, which the Engliſh commerce had formerly ſuſtained from him. He next ſailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to make peace, and to reſtrain his pyratical ſubjects from farther violences on the Engliſh. He preſented himſelf before Tunis; and having there made the ſame demands, the dey of that republic bade him look to the caſtles of Porto-Farino and Goletta, and do his utmoſt. Blake needed not to be rouzed by ſuch a bravado: He drew his ſhips cloſe up to the caſtles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He ſent a numerous detachment of ſailors in their long boats into the harbour, and burned every ſhip which lay there. This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered ſafe, was executed with little loſs, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of Engliſh valour.

Jamaica conquered.

THE other ſquadron was not equally ſucceſsful. It was commanded by Pen, and carried on board 4000 men, under the command of Venables. About 5000 more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Chriſtophers. Both theſe officers were inclined to the king's ſervice [p]; and it is pretended, that Cromwel was obliged to hurry the ſoldiers on board, in order to prevent the execution of a conſpiracy, which had been formed among them, in favour of the exiled family [q]. The ill ſucceſs of this enterprize, may juſtly be aſcribed, as much to the injudicious ſchemes of the protector, who planned it, as to the bad execution of the officers, by whom it was conducted. The ſoldiers were the refuſe of the whole army: The forces, inliſted in the Weſt Indies, were the moſt profligate of mankind: Pen and Venables were of incompatible tempers: The troops were not furniſhed with arms fit for ſuch an expedition: Their proviſions were defective both in quantity and quality: All hopes of pil-

[p] Clarendon. [q] Vita D. Berwici, p. 124.

lage,

lage, the best incentive to valour among such men, were refused the soldiers and seamen: No directions or intelligence were given to conduct the officers in their enterprize: And at the same time, they were tied down to follow the advice of commissioners, who disconcerted them in all their projects[r]. CHAP. LXI. 1655.

It was agreed by the admiral and general to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of strength in the island of Hispaniola. On the approach of the English the Spaniards in a fright deserted their houses, and fled into the woods. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the soldiers were disembarked without guides ten leagues distant from the town. They wandered four days through the woods without provisions, and what was still more intolerable in that sultry climate, without water. The Spaniards recovered spirit, and attacked them. The English, discouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, and scarcely alive from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, were unable to resist. An inconsiderable number of the enemy put the whole army to rout, killed 600 of them, and chased the rest on board their vessels. 13th April.

The English commanders, in order to atone, as much as possible, for this unprosperous attempt, bent their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them sent to the Tower by the protector, who, though commonly master of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent passion at this disappointment. He had made a conquest of greater importance, than he was himself at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vast projects, which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to support it by men and money; and that island has ever since remained in the hands of the

[r] Burchet's Naval History. See also Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 46, 47. Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 505.

English;

CHAP. LXI.

Engliſh; the chief acquiſition which they owe to the enterprizing ſpirit of Cromwel.

1656. As ſoon as the news of this expedition, which was an unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war againſt England, and ſeized all the ſhips and goods of Engliſh merchants, of which they could make themſelves maſters. The commerce with Spain, ſo profitable to the Engliſh, was cut off; and near 1500 veſſels, it is computed [s], fell in a few years into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himſelf for hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards.

SEVERAL ſea officers, having entertained ſcruples of conſcience with regard to the juſtice of the Spaniſh war, threw up their commiſſions, and retired [t]. No command, they thought, of their ſuperiors could juſtify a war, which was contrary to the principles of natural equity, and which the civil magiſtrate had no right to order. Individuals, they maintained, in reſigning to the public their natural liberty, could beſtow on it only what they themſelves were poſſeſſed of, a right of performing lawful actions, and could inveſt it with no authority of commanding what is contrary to the decrees of heaven. Such maxims, though they ſeem reaſonable, are perhaps too perfect for human nature; and muſt be regarded as one effect, though of the moſt innocent and even honourable kind, of that ſpirit, partly fanatical, partly republican, which predominated in England.

Succeſs. BLAKE lay ſome time off Cadiz, in expectation of intercepting the plate fleet, but was at laſt obliged, for want of water, to make ſail towards Portugal. Captain Stayner, whom he had left on the coaſt with a ſquadron

[s] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 135. World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwel, in the Harl. Miſcel. vol. i.

[t] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 570, 589.

of

CHAP. LXI. 1656. September.

of ſeven veſſels, came in ſight of the galleons, and immediately ſet-ſail to purſue them. The Spaniſh admiral ran his ſhip aſhore: Two others followed his example: The Engliſh took two ſhips valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. Two galleons were ſet on fire; and the marqueſs of Badajox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and his daughter, betrothed to the young duke of Medina Celi, were deſtroyed in them. The marqueſs himſelf might have eſcaped; but ſeeing theſe unfortunate women, aſtoniſhed with the danger, fall in a ſwoon, and periſh in the flames, he choſe rather to die with them than drag out a life, embittered with the remembrance of ſuch diſmal ſcenes [u]. When the treaſures, gained by this enterprize, arrived at Portſmouth, the protector, from a ſpirit of oſtentation, ordered them to be tranſported by land to London.

THE next action againſt the Spaniards was more honourable, though leſs profitable, to the nation. Blake, having heard that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips, much richer than the former, had taken ſhelter in the Canaries, immediately made ſail towards them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, diſpoſed in a formidable poſture. The bay was ſecured with a ſtrong caſtle, well provided with cannon, beſides ſeven forts in ſeveral parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, ordered all his ſmaller veſſels to moor cloſe to the ſhore, and poſted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadſides to the ſea.

BLAKE was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind ſeconded his courage, and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickeſt of his enemies. After a reſiſtance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to Engliſh valour, and

[u] Thurloe, vol. v. p. 433.

CHAP. LXI. 1656.

abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure. The greatest danger still remained to the English. They lay under the fire of the castles and all the forts, which must, in a little time, have torn them in pieces. But the wind, suddenly shifting, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in astonishment at the happy temerity of their audacious victors.

and death of admiral Blake.

THIS was the last and greatest action of the gallant Blake. He was consumed with a dropsy and scurvy, and hastened home, that he might yield up his last breath in his native country, which he had so much adorned by his valour. As he came within sight of land, he expired [w]. Never man, so zealous for a faction, was so much respected and esteemed even by the opposite factions. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst all the trust and caresses, which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. *It is still our duty*, he said to the seamen, *to fight for our country, into what hands so ever the government may fall.* Disinterested, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies; he forms one of the most perfect characters of that age, and the least stained with those errors and violences, which were then so predominant. The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: But the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory.

THE conduct of the protector in foreign affairs, though imprudent and impolitic, was full of vigor and enterprize, and drew a consideration to his country, which, since the reign of Elizabeth, it seemed to have totally lost. The great mind of this successful usurper was intent on spreading the renown of the English nation; and while he

[w] 20th of April, 1657.

struck

ſtruck mankind with aſtoniſhment at his extraordinary fortune, he ſeemed to ennoble, inſtead of debaſing, that people, whom he had reduced to ſubjection. It was his boaſt, that he would render the name of an Engliſhman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found ſome reality in theſe pretenſions, their national vanity, being gratified, made them bear with more patience all the indignities and calamities, under which they laboured. 1656.

Domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel.

It muſt alſo be acknowledged, that the protector, in his civil and domeſtic adminiſtration, diſplayed as great regard both to juſtice and clemency, as his uſurped authority, derived from no law, and founded only on the ſword, could poſſibly permit. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled with men of integrity: Amidſt the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial: And to every man but himſelf, and to himſelf, except where neceſſity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of conduct and behaviour. Vane and Lilburn, whoſe credit with the republicans and levellers he dreaded, were indeed for ſome time confined to priſon: Cony, who refuſed to pay illegal taxes, was obliged by menaces to depart from his obſtinacy: High courts of juſtice were erected to try thoſe who had engaged in conſpiracies and inſurrections againſt the protector's authority, and whom he could not ſafely commit to the verdict of juries. But theſe irregularities were deemed inevitable conſequences of his illegal authority. And though often urged by his officers, as is pretended [x], to attempt a general maſſacre of the royaliſts, he always with horror rejected ſuch ſanguinary counſels.

In the army was laid the ſole baſis of the protector's power; and in managing it conſiſted the chief art and

[x] Clarendon, Life of Dr. Berwick, &c.

CHAP. LXI. 1656.

delicacy of his government. The ſoldiers were held in exact diſcipline; a policy, which both accuſtomed them to obedience, and made them leſs hateful and burthenſome to the people. He augmented their pay; though the public neceſſities ſometimes obliged him to run in arrears to them. Their intereſts, they were ſenſible, were cloſely connected with thoſe of their general and protector. And he entirely commanded their affectionate regard, by his ability and ſucceſs in almoſt every enterprize, which he had hitherto undertaken. But all military government is precarious; much more where it ſtands in oppoſition to civil eſtabliſhments; and ſtill more, where it encounters religious prejudices. By the wild fanaticiſm, which he had nouriſhed in the ſoldiers, he had ſeduced them into meaſures, for which, if openly propoſed to them, they would have entertained the utmoſt averſion. But this ſame ſpirit rendered them more difficult to be governed, and made their caprices terrible even to that hand, which directed their movements. So often taught, that the office of king was an uſurpation upon Chriſt, they were apt to ſuſpect a protector not to be altogether compatible with that divine authority. Harriſon, though raiſed to the higheſt dignity, and poſſeſſed entirely of Cromwel's confidence, became his moſt inveterate enemy as ſoon as the authority of a ſingle perſon was eſtabliſhed, againſt which that uſurper had always made ſuch violent proteſtations. Overton, Rich, Okey, officers of rank in the army, were actuated with like principles, and Cromwel was obliged to deprive them of their commiſſions. Their influence, which was before thought unbounded among the troops, ſeemed from that moment to be totally annihilated.

THE more effectually to curb the enthuſiaſtic and ſeditious ſpirit of the troops, Cromwel eſtabliſhed a kind of militia in the ſeveral counties. Companies of infantry and

and cavalry were inlisted under proper officers, regular pay distributed among them, and a resource by that means provided both against the insurrections of the royalists, and mutiny of the army. 1656.

RELIGION can never be deemed a point of small consequence in civil government: But during this period, it may be regarded as the great spring of men's actions and determinations. Though transported, himself, with the most frantic whimsies, Cromwel had adopted a scheme for regulating this principle in others, which was sagacious and political. Being resolved to maintain a national church, and yet determined neither to admit episcopacy nor presbytery, he established a number of commissioners, under the name of *tryers*, partly laymen, partly ecclesiastics, some presbyterians, some independents. These presented to all livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown; they examined and admitted such persons as received holy orders; and they inspected the lives, doctrine, and behaviour of the clergy. Instead of supporting that union between learning and theology, which has so long been attempted in Europe, these tryers embraced the latter principle in its full purity, and made it the sole object of their examinations. The candidates were no more perplexed with questions concerning their progress in Greek and Roman erudition; concerning their talent for profane arts and sciences: The chief object of scrutiny regarded their advances in grace, and fixing the critical moment of their conversion.

WITH the pretended saints of all denominations Cromwel was familiar and easy. Laying aside the state of protector, which, on other occasions, he well knew how to maintain, he insinuated to them, that nothing but necessity could ever oblige him to invest himself with it. He talked spiritually to them; he sighed, he weeped, he canted, he prayed. He even entered with them into an

CHAP. LXI. 1656.

emulation of ghoſtly gifts; and theſe men, inſtead of grieving to be outdone in their own way, were proud, that his highneſs, by his princely example, had dignified thoſe practices, in which they themſelves were daily occupied [y].

If Cromwel might be ſaid to adhere to any particular form of religion, they were the independents who could chiefly boaſt of his favour; and it may be affirmed, that ſuch paſtors of that ſect, as were not paſſionately addicted to civil liberty, were all of them devoted to him. The preſbyterian clergy alſo, being ſaved from the ravages of the anabaptiſts and millenarians, and enjoying their eſtabliſhments and tythes, were not averſe to his government; though he ſtill entertained a great jealouſy of that ambitious and reſtleſs ſpirit, by which they were actuated. He granted an unbounded liberty of conſcience, to all but catholics and prelatiſts; and by that means, he both attached the wild ſectaries to his own perſon, and employed them in curbing the domineering ſpirit of the preſbyterians. "I am the only man," he was often heard to ſay, "who has known how to ſubdue that in-"ſolent ſect, which can ſuffer none but itſelf."

The proteſtant zeal, which poſſeſſed the preſbyterians and independents, was highly gratified by the haughty manner, in which the protector ſo ſucceſsfully ſupported the perſecuted proteſtants throughout all Europe. Even the duke of Savoy, ſo remote a power, and ſo little ex-

[y] Cromwel followed, though but in part, the advice which he received from general Harriſon, at the time when the intimacy and endearment moſt ſtrongly ſubſiſted betwixt them. "Let the waiting upon Jehovah," ſaid that military ſaint, "be the greateſt and moſt conſiderable buſineſs you "have every day: Reckon it ſo, more than to eat, ſleep, and council toge-"ther. Run aſide ſometimes from your company, and get a word with the "Lord. Why ſhould not you have three or four precious ſouls always ſtand-"ing at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turn into a cor-"ner? I have found refreſhment and mercy in ſuch a way."

Milton's ſtate papers, p. 12.

poſed

posed to the naval force of England, was obliged, by the authority of France, to comply with his mediation, and to tolerate the protestants of the vallies, against whom that prince had commenced a furious persecution. France itself was constrained to bear, not only with the religion, but even, in some instances, with the seditious insolence of the Hugonots; and when that court applied for a reciprocal toleration of the catholic religion in England, the protector, who arrogated in every thing the superiority, would hearken to no such proposal. He had entertained a project of instituting a college in imitation of that at Rome, for the propagation of the faith; and his apostles, in zeal, though not in unanimity, had certainly been a full match for the catholics.

CROMWEL retained the church of England in constraint; though he permitted its clergy a little more liberty than the republican parliament had formerly allowed. He was pleased, that the superior lenity of his administration should in every thing be remarked. He bridled the royalists, both by the army which he retained, and by those secret spies, which he found means to intermix in all their counsels. Manning being discovered and punished with death, he corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who was much trusted by chancellor Hyde and all the royalists; and by means of that man he was let into every design and conspiracy of the party. He could disconcert any project, by confining the persons who were to be the actors in it; and as he restored them afterwards to liberty, his severity passed only for the result of general jealousy and suspicion. The secret source of his intelligence remained still unknown and unsuspected.

CONSPIRACIES for an assassination he was chiefly afraid of; these being designs, which no prudence or vigilance could evade. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had written a spirited discourse, exhorting every one to

CHAP. LXI. 1656.

embrace this method of vengeance; and Cromwel knew, that the inflamed minds of the royal party were sufficiently disposed to put this doctrine in practice against him. He openly told them, that assassinations were base and odious, and he never would commence hostilities by so shameful an expedient; but if the first attempt or provocation came from them, he would retaliate to the uttermost. He had instruments, he said, whom he could employ; and he never would desist, till he had totally exterminated the royal family. This menace, more than all his guards, contributed to the security of his person [z].

THERE was no point about which the protector was more solicitous than to procure intelligence. This article alone, it is said, cost him sixty thousand pounds a year. Postmasters, both at home and abroad, were, many of them, in his pay: Carriers were searched or bribed: Secretaries and clerks were corrupted: The greatest zealots in all parties were often those who conveyed private information to him: And nothing could escape his vigilant enquiry. Such at least is the representation made by historians of Cromwel's administration: But it must be confessed, that, if we may judge by those volumes of Thurloe's papers, which have been lately published, this affair, like many others, has been greatly magnified. We scarcely find by that collection, that any secret counsels of foreign states, except those of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed, were known to the protector.

THE general behaviour and deportment of this man, who had been raised from a very private station, who had passed most of his youth in the country, and who was still constrained so much to frequent bad company, was such as might befit the greatest monarch. He maintained a dignity without either affectation or ostentation; and

[z] See note [K] at the end of the volume.

supported

CHAP. LXI. 1656.

ſupported with al ſtrangers that high idea, with which his great exploits and prodigious fortune had impreſſed them. Among his ancient friends, he could relax himſelf; and by trifling and amuſement, jeſting and making verſes, he feared not expoſing himſelf to their moſt familiar approaches[a]. With others, he ſometimes puſhed matters to the length of ruſtic buffoonery; and he would amuſe himſelf by putting burning coals into the boots and hoſe of the oficers, who attended him[b]. Before the king's trial, a meeting was agreed on between the chiefs of the republican party and the general officers, in order to concert the model of that free government, which they were to ſubſtitute, in place of the monarchical conſtitution, now totally ſubverted. After debates on this ſubject, the moſt important, that could fall under the diſcuſſion of human creatures, Ludlow tells us, that Cromwel, by way of frolic, threw a cuſhion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cuſhion, in order to return the compliment, the general ran down ſtairs, and had almoſt broken his bones in the hurry. When the high court of juſtce was ſigning the king's ſentence, a matter, if poſſible, ſtill more ſerious; Cromwel, taking the pen in his hand, before he ſubſcribed his name, bedaubed with ink the face of Martin, who ſat next him. And the pen being delivered to Martin, he practiſed the ſame frolic upon Cromwel[c]. He frequently gave feaſts to his inferior officers; and when the meat was ſet upon the table, a ſignal was given; the ſoldiers ruſhed in upon them; and with much noiſe, tumult, and confuſion, ran away with all the diſhes, and diſappointed the gueſts of their expected meal[d].

AMIDST all the unguarded play and buffoonery of this ſingular perſonage, he took the opportunity of re-

a Whilocke, p. 647. b Bates.
c Tryal of the regicides. d Bates.

marking

CHAP. LXI.

1656.

marking the characters, designs, and weaknesses of men; and he would sometimes push them, by an indulgence in wine, to open to him the most secret recesses of their bosom. Great regularity, however, and even austerity of manners were always maintained in his court; and he was careful never by any liberties to give offence to the most rigid of the godly. Some state was upheld; but with little expence, and without any splendor. The nobility, though courted by him, kept at a distance, and disdained to intermix themselves with those mean persons, who were the instruments of his government. Without departing from œconomy, he was generous to those who served him; and he knew how to find out and engage in his interests every man possessed of those talents, which any particular employment demanded. His generals, his admirals, his judges, his ambassadors, were persons, who contributed, all of them, in their several spheres, to the security of the protector and to the honour and interest of the nation.

UNDER pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one commonwealth with England, Cromwel had reduced these kingdoms to a total subjection; and he treated them entirely as conquered provinces. The civil administration of Scotland was placed in a council, consisting mostly of English, of which lord Broghil was president. Justice was administered by seven judges, four of whom were English. In order to curb the tyrannical nobility, he both abolished all vassalage [e] and revived the office of justice of peace, which king James had introduced, but was not able to support [f]. A long line of forts and garrisons was maintained throughout the kingdom. An army of 10,000 men [g] kept every thing in peace and obedience; and neither the banditti of the mountains nor

[e] Whitlocke, p. 570. [f] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 57.
[g] Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 557.

the

the bigots of the low countries could indulge their inclination to turbulence and diſorder. He courted the preſbyterian clergy; though he nouriſhed that inteſtine enmity which prevailed between the reſolutioners and proteſters; and he found, that very little policy was requiſite to foſter quarrels among theologians. He permitted no church aſſemblies; being ſenſible that from thence had proceeded many of the paſt miſchiefs. And in the main, the Scots were obliged to acknowledge, that never before, while they enjoyed their irregular, factious liberty, had they attained ſo much happineſs as at preſent, when reduced to ſubjection under a foreign nation. 1656.

THE protector's adminiſtration of Ireland was more ſevere and violent. The government of that iſland was firſt entruſted to Fleetwood, a notorious fanatic, who had married Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwel, ſecond ſon of the protector, a young man of an amiable mild diſpoſition, and not deſtitute of vigor and capacity. Above five millions of acres, forfeited either by the popiſh rebels or by the adherents of the king, were divided, partly among the adventurers, who had advanced money to the parliament, partly among the Engliſh ſoldiers, who had arrears due to them. Examples of a more ſudden and violent change of property are ſcarcely to be found in any hiſtory. An order was even iſſued to confine all the native Iriſh to the province of Connaught, where they would be ſhut up by rivers, lakes, and mountains, and could not, it was hoped, be any longer dangerous to the Engliſh government: But this barbarous and abſurd policy, which, from an impatience of attaining immediate ſecurity, muſt have depopulated all the other provinces, and rendered the Engliſh eſtates of no value, was ſoon abandoned as impracticable.

CROMWEL began to hope, that, by his adminiſtration, attended with ſo much luſtre and ſucceſs abroad, ſo much order New parliament.

CHAP. LXI.

1656.

order and tranquillity at home, he had now acquired such authority as would enable him to meet the representatives of the nation, and would assure him of their dutiful compliance with his government. He summoned a parliament; but not trusting altogether to the good will of the people, he used every art, which his new model of representation allowed him to employ, in order to influence the elections and fill the house with his own creatures. Ireland, being entirely in the hands of the army, chose few but such officers as were most acceptable to him. Scotland showed a like compliance; and as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom regarded their attendance on English parliaments as an ignominious badge of slavery, it was, on that account, more easy for the officers to prevail in the elections. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the protector still found, that the majority would not be favourable to him. He set guards, therefore, on the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about a hundred, who either refused a recognition of the protector's government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. These protested against so egregious a violence, subversive of all liberty; but every application for redress was neglected both by the council and the parliament.

17th of September.

The majority of the parliament, by means of these arts and violences, was now at last either friendly to the protector, or resolved, by their compliance, to adjust, if possible, this military government to their laws and liberties. They voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart or any of his family; and this was the first act, dignified with the appearance of national consent, which had ever had that tendency. Colonel Jephson, in order to sound the inclinations of the house, ventured to move, that the parliament should bestow the crown on Cromwel; and

and no surprize or reluctance was discovered on the occasion. When Cromwel afterwards asked Jephson what induced him to make such a motion, "As long," said Jephson, "as I have the honour to sit in parliament, I "must follow the dictates of my own conscience, what-"ever offence I may be so unfortunate as to give you." "Get thee gone," said Cromwel, giving him a gentle blow on the shoulder, "get thee gone, for a mad fellow "as thou art." CHAP. LXI. 1656.

In order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he so ardently longed, Cromwel resolved to sacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. That measure was also become necessary for his own security. All government, purely military, fluctuates perpetually between a despotic monarchy and a despotic aristocracy, according as the authority of the chief commander prevails, or that of the officers next him in rank and dignity. The major-generals, being possessed of so much distinct jurisdiction, began to establish a separate title to power, and had rendered themselves formidable to the protector himself; and for this inconvenience, though he had not foreseen it, he well knew, before it was too late, to provide a proper remedy. Claypole, his son-in-law, who possessed his confidence, abandoned them to the pleasure of the house; and though the name was still retained, it was agreed to abridge, or rather entirely annihilate, the power of the major-generals.

At last, a motion in form was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the protector with the dignity of king. This motion, at first, excited great disorder, and divided the whole house into parties. The chief opposition came from the usual adherents of the protector, the major-generals and such officers as depended on them. Lambert, a man of deep intrigue

CHAP. LXI.

1656.

intrigue and of great intereſt in the army, had long entertained the ambition of ſucceeding Cromwel in the protectorſhip; and he foreſaw, that, if the monarchy were reſtored, hereditary right would alſo be eſtabliſhed, and the crown be tranſmitted to the poſterity of the prince firſt elected. He pleaded, therefore, conſcience; and rouzing all thoſe civil and religious jealouſies againſt kingly government, which had been ſo induſtriouſly encouraged among the ſoldiers, and which ſerved them as a pretence for ſo many violences, he raiſed a numerous, and ſtill more formidable party againſt the motion.

On the other hand, the motion was ſupported by every one, who was more particularly devoted to the protector, and who hoped, by ſo acceptable a meaſure, to pay court to the prevailing authority. Many perſons alſo, attached to their country, deſpaired of ever being able to ſubvert the preſent illegal eſtabliſhment, and were deſirous, by fixing it on ancient foundations, to induce the protector, from views of his own ſafety, to pay a regard to the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. Even the royaliſts imprudently joined in the meaſure; and hoped, that, when the queſtion regarded only perſons, not forms of government, no one would any longer balance between the ancient royal family, and an ignoble uſurper, who, by blood, treaſon, and perfidy, had made his way to the throne. The bill was voted by a conſiderable majority; and a committee was appointed to reaſon with the protector, and to overcome thoſe ſcruples, which he pretended againſt accepting ſo liberal an offer.

1657. Crown offered to Cromwel.

9th April.

THE conference laſted for ſeveral days. The committee urged, that all the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of England were founded on the ſuppoſition of regal authority, and could not, without extreme violence, be adjuſted to any other form of government: That a protector, except during the minority of a king, was a name utterly unknown

known to the laws; and no man was acquainted with the extent or limits of his authority: That if it was attempted to define every part of his jurisdiction, many years, if not ages, would be required for the execution of so complicated a work; if the whole power of the king was at once transferred to him, the question was plainly about a name, and the preference was undisputably due to the ancient title: That the English constitution was more anxious concerning the form of government than concerning the birthright of the first magistrate, and had provided, by an express law of Henry VII. for the security of those who act in defence of the king in being, by whatever means he might have acquired possession: That it was extremely the interest of all his Highness's friends to seek the shelter of this statute; and even the people in general were desirous of such a settlement, and in all juries were with great difficulty induced to give their verdict in favour of a protector: That the great source of all the late commotions had been the jealousy of liberty; and that a republic, together with a protector, had been established in order to provide farther securities for the freedom of the constitution; but that by experience the remedy had been found insufficient, even dangerous and pernicious; since every undeterminate power, such as that of a protector, must be arbitrary; and the more arbitrary, as it was contrary to the genius and inclination of the people.

CHAP. LXI. 1657.

The difficulty consisted not in perswading Cromwel. He was sufficiently convinced of the solidity of these reasonings; and his inclination, as well as judgement, was entirely on the side of the committee. But how to bring over the soldiers to the same way of thinking was the question. The office of king had been painted to them in such horrible colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling them suddenly to it, even though bestowed

CHAP. LXI.

1657.

upon their general, to whom they were ſo much devoted. A contradiction, open and direct, to all paſt profeſſions would make them paſs, in the eyes of the whole nation, for the moſt ſhameleſs hypocrites, inliſted, by no other than mercenary motives, in the cauſe of the moſt perfidious traitor. Principles, ſuch as they were, had been encouraged in them by every conſideration, human and divine; and though it was eaſy, where intereſt concurred, to deceive them by the thinneſt diſguiſes, it might be found dangerous at once to pull off the maſque, and to ſhow them in a full light the whole crime and deformity of their conduct. Suſpended between theſe fears and his own moſt ardent deſires, Cromwel protracted the time, and ſeemed ſtill to oppoſe the reaſonings of the committee; in hopes, that by artifice he might be able to reconcile the refractory minds of the ſoldiers to his new dignity.

WHILE the protector argued ſo much in contradiction both to his judgement and inclination, it is no wonder, that his elocution, always confuſed, embarraſſed, and unintelligible, ſhould be involved in tenfold darkneſs, and diſcover no glimmering of common ſenſe or reaſon. An exact account of this conference remains, and may be regarded as a great curioſity. The members of the committee, in their reaſonings, diſcover judgement, knowledge, elocution: Lord Broghill in particular exerts himſelf on this memorable occaſion. But what a contraſt, when we paſs to the protector's replies! After ſo ſingular a manner does nature diſtribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with ſenſe and learning, a man, who, by ſuperior perſonal merit alone, had made his way to ſupreme dignity, and had even obliged the parliament to make him a tender of the crown, was yet incapable of expreſſing himſelf on this occaſion, but in a manner which

which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity would justly be ashamed of [h].

CHAP. LXI.

1657.

The opposition, which Cromwel dreaded, was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as capital enemies, and whom he was resolved, on the first occasion, to deprive of all power and authority: It was that which he met with in his own family, and from men, who, by interest as well as incli-

[h] We shall produce any passage at random: For his discourse is all of a piece. "I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say, I hope, I may be understood in this, for indeed I must be tender what I say to such an audience as this; I say, I would be understood, that in this argument I do not make parallel betwixt men of a different mind and a parliament, which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison, nor can it be urged upon me, that my words have the least colour that way, because the parliament seems to give liberty to me to say any thing to you; as that, that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgement and opinion to them: and if I think they are such and will be such to them, and are faithful servants and will be so to the supreme authority, and the legislative wheresoever it is: If I say, I should not tell you, knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful, if I should not tell you so, to the end you may report it to the parliament: I shall say something for myself, for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words or names of such things I have not: But as I have the word of God, and I hope I shall ever have it, for the rule of my conscience, for my informations; so truly men that have been led in dark paths, through the providence and dispensation of God; why surely it is not to be objected to a man; for who can love to walk in the dark? But providence does so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to providence sinfully, yet it must be at my peril; the case may be that it is the providence of God, that doth lead men in darkness: I must need say, that I have had a great deal of experience of providence, and though it is no rule without or against the word, yet it is a very good expositor of the word in many cases." *Conference at Whitehall.* The great defect in Oliver's speeches consists not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas. The sagacity of his actions, and the absurdity of his discourse, form the most prodigious contrast that ever was known. The collection of all his speeches, letters, sermons (for he also wrote sermons) would make a great curiosity, and with a few exceptions might justly pass for one of the most nonsensical books in the world.

CHAP. LXI.

1657.

nation, were the most devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter: Desborow his sister: Yet these men, actuated by principle alone, could, by no persuasion, artifice, or entreaty, be induced to consent, that their friend and patron should be invested with regal dignity. They told him, that, if he accepted of the crown, they would instantly throw up their commissions, and never afterwards should have it in their power to serve him [i]. Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of king, signed by a majority of the officers, who were in London and the neighbourhood. Several persons, it was said, had entered into an engagement to murder the protector within a few hours after he should have accepted the offer of the parliament. Some sudden mutiny in the army was justly dreaded. And upon the whole, Cromwel, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at last obliged to refuse that crown, which the representatives of the nation, in the most solemn manner, had tendered to him. Most historians are inclined to blame his choice; but he must be allowed the best judge of his own situation. And in such complicated subjects, the alteration of a very minute circumstance, unknown to the spectator, will often be sufficient to cast the balance, and render a determination, which, in itself, may be uneligible, very prudent, or even absolutely necessary to the actor.

He rejects it.

A DREAM or prophecy, lord Clarendon mentions, which, he affirms, (and he must have known the truth) was universally talked of almost from the beginning of the civil wars, and long before Cromwel was so considerable a person as to bestow upon it any degree of probability. In this prophecy it was foretold, that Cromwel should be the greatest man in England, and would nearly, but never would fully, mount the throne. Such a prepossession

[i] Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 261.

probably

probably arose from the heated imagination either of himself or of his followers; and as it might be one cause of the great progress, which he had already made, it is not an unlikely reason, which may be assigned, for his refusing at this time any farther elevation. 1657.

THE parliament, when the regal dignity was rejected by Cromwel, found themselves obliged to retain the name of a commonwealth and protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifest usurpation, it was thought proper to sanctify it by a seeming choice of the people and their representatives. Instead of the *instrument of government*, which was the work of the general officers alone, *an humble petition and advice* was framed, and offered to the protector by the parliament. This was represented as the great basis of the republican establishment, regulating and limiting the powers of each member of the constitution, and securing the liberty of the people to the most remote posterity. By this deed, the authority of protector was in some particulars enlarged: In others, it was considerably diminished. He had the power of nominating his successor; he had a perpetual revenue assigned him, a million a year for the pay of the fleet and army, three hundred thousand pounds for the support of civil government; and he had authority to name another house, who should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former house of peers. But he abandoned the power assumed in the intervals of parliament, of framing laws with the consent of his council; and he agreed, that no members of either house should be excluded but by the consent of that house, of which they were members. The other articles were in the main the same as in the instrument of government. The instrument of government Cromwel had formerly extolled as the most perfect work of human invention: He now represented it as a rotten plank, upon which no man could

Humble petition and advice.

CHAP. LXI.

1657.

truſt himſelf without ſinking. Even the humble petition and advice, which he extolled in its turn, appeared ſo lame and imperfect, that it was found requiſite, this very ſeſſion, to mend it by a ſupplement; and after all, it may be regarded as a crude and undigeſted model of government. It was, however, accepted for the voluntary deed of the whole people in the three united nations; and Cromwel, as if his power had juſt commenced from this popular conſent, was anew inaugurated in Weſtminſter Hall, after the moſt ſolemn and moſt pompous manner.

26th June. THE parliament having adjourned itſelf, the protector deprived Lambert of all his commiſſions; but ſtill allowed him a conſiderable penſion, of 2000 pounds a year, as a bribe for his future peaceable deportment. Lambert's authority in the army, to the ſurpriſe of every body, was found immediately to expire with the loſs of his commiſſion. Packer and ſome other officers, whom Cromwel ſuſpected, were alſo diſplaced.

RICHARD, eldeſt ſon of the protector, was brought to court, introduced into public buſineſs, and thenceforth regarded by many as his heir in the protectorſhip; though Cromwel ſometimes employed the groſs artifice of flattering others with hopes of the ſucceſſion. Richard was a perſon poſſeſſed of the moſt peaceable, inoffenſive, unambitious character; and had hitherto lived contentedly in the country on a ſmall eſtate, which his wife had brought him. All the activity, which he diſcovered, and which never was great, was however exerted to beneficent purpoſes: At the time of the king's trial, he had fallen on his knees before his father, and had conjured him, by every tye of duty and humanity, to ſpare the life of that monarch. Cromwel had two daughters unmarried: One of them he now gave in marriage to the grandſon and heir of his great friend, the earl of Warwic, with whom he had, in every fortune, preſerved an uninterrupted intimacy

timacy and good correſpondence: The other, he married to the viſcount Fauconberg, of a family, formerly devoted to the royal party. He was ambitious of forming connexions with the nobility; and it was one chief motive for his deſiring the title of king, that he might replace every thing in its natural order, and reſtore, to the ancient families, that truſt and honour, of which he now found himſelf obliged, for his own ſafety, to deprive them. CHAP. LXI. 1657.

THE parliament was again aſſembled; conſiſting, as in the times of monarchy, of two houſes, the commons and the other houſe. Cromwel, during the interval, had ſent writs to his houſe of peers, which conſiſted of ſixty members. They were compoſed of five or ſix ancient peers, of ſeveral gentlemen of fortune and diſtinction, and of ſome officers who had riſen from the meaneſt profeſſions. None of the ancient peers, however, though ſummoned by writ, would deign to accept of a ſeat, which they muſt ſhare with ſuch companions as were aſſigned them. The protector endeavoured at firſt to maintain the appearance of a legal magiſtrate. He placed no guard at the door of either houſe: But ſoon found how incompatible liberty is with military uſurpations. By bringing ſo great a number of his friends and adherents into the other houſe, he had loſt the majority among the national repreſentatives. In conſequence of a clauſe in the humble petition and advice, the commons aſſumed a power of re-admitting thoſe members, whom the council had formerly excluded. Sir Arthur Hazelrig and ſome others, whom Cromwel had created lords, rather choſe to take their ſeat with the commons. An inconteſtible majority now declared themſelves againſt the protector; and they refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of that other houſe, which he had eſtabliſhed. Even the validity of the humble petition and advice was queſtioned; 1658. 20th Jan.

CHAP. LXI. 1658.

as being voted by a parliament, which lay under force, and which was deprived by military violence of a conſiderable number of its members. The protector, dreading combinations between the parliament and the malcontents in the army, was reſolved to allow no leiſure for the forming any conſpiracy againſt him; and with great expreſſions of anger and diſpleaſure, he diſſolved the parliament. When urged by Fleetwood and others of his friends not to precipitate himſelf into this raſh meaſure, he ſwore by the living God, that they ſhould not ſit a moment longer.

4th Feb.

THESE diſtractions at home were not able to take off the protector's attention from foreign affairs; and in all his meaſures he proceeded with the ſame vigour and enterprize, as if ſecure of the duty and attachment of the three kingdoms. His alliance with Sweden he ſtill ſupported; and he endeavoured to aſſiſt that crown in its ſucceſsful enterprizes, for reducing all its neighbours to ſubjection, and rendering itſelf abſolute maſter of the Baltic. As ſoon as Spain declared war againſt him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himſelf in all his counſels with that potent and ambitious kingdom. Spain, having long courted in vain the friendſhip of the ſucceſsful uſurper, was reduced at laſt to apply to the unfortunate prince. Charles formed a league with Philip, removed his ſmall court to Bruges in the Low Countries, and raiſed four regiments of his own ſubjects, whom he employed in the Spaniſh ſervice. The duke of York, who had, with applauſe, ſerved ſome campaigns in the French army, and who had merited the particular eſteem of marſhal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to ſeek military experience under don John of Auſtria and the prince of Condé.

THE ſcheme of foreign politics, adopted by the protector, was highly imprudent, but was ſuitable to that magnanimity

CHAP. LXI.

1658.

magnanimity and enterprize, with which he was so signally endowed. He was particularly desirous of conquest and dominion on the continent [k]; and he sent over into Flanders six thousand men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign, Mardyke was taken, and put into the hands of the English. Early this campaign, siege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spanish army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated [l]. The valour of the English was much remarked on this occasion. Dunkirk, being soon after surrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwel. He committed the government of that important place to Lockhart, a Scotchman of ability, who had married his niece, and was his ambassador at the court of France.

Dunkirk taken.

THIS acquisition was regarded by the protector as the means only of obtaining farther advantages. He was re-

k He aspired to get possession of Elsinore and the passage of the Sound. See *World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwel*. He also endeavoured to get possession of Bremen. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 478.

l It was remarked by the saints of that time, that the battle was fought on a day which was held for a fast in London, so that as Fleetwood said (Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 159.) while we were praying, they were fighting; and the Lord hath given a signal answer. The Lord has not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in a way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all streights and difficulties. Cromwel's letter to Blake and Montague, his brave admirals, is remarkable for the same spirit. Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 744. You have, says he, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going for you daily, sent up by the sobereſt and most approved ministers and christians in this nation, and, notwithstanding some discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you, which are to us, and I trust will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithstanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourselves and all our affairs to the disposition of our all-wise Father, who not only out of prerogative, but because of his goodness, wisdom and truth, ought to be resigned unto by his creatures, especially those who are children of his begetting through the spirit, &c.

CHAP. LXI.

1658.

solved to concert measures with the French court for the final conquest and partition of the Low Countries [m]. Had he lived much longer, and maintained his authority in England, so chimerical or rather so dangerous a project, would certainly have been carried into execution. And this first and principal step towards more extensive conquest, which France, during a whole century, has never yet been able, by an infinite expence of blood and treasure, fully to attain, had at once been accomplished by the enterprizing, though unskilful politics of Cromwel.

During these transactions, great demonstrations of mutual friendship and regard passed between the French king and the protector. Lord Fauconberg, Cromwel's son-in-law, was dispatched to Louis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the same regard, usually payed to foreign princes by the French court [n]. Mazarine sent to London his nephew Mancini, along with the duke of Crequi; and expressed his regret, that his urgent affairs should deprive him of the honour, which he had long wished for, of paying, in person, his respects to the greatest man in the world [o].

The protector reaped little satisfaction from the success of his arms abroad: The situation, in which he stood at home, kept him in perpetual uneasiness and inquietude. His administration, so expensive both by military enterprizes and secret intelligence, had exhausted his revenue, and involved him in a considerable debt. The royalists, he heard, had renewed their conspiracies, for a general insurrection; and Ormond was secretly come over with a view of concerting measures for the

[m] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 762. [n] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 151, 158.

[o] In reality the cardinal had not entertained so high an idea of Cromwel. He used to say, that he was a fortunate madman. Vie de Cromwel par Raguenet. See also Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 81. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 93. World's Mistake in O. Cromwel.

execution

execution of this project. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the general spirit of discontent; and some sudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be dreaded from it. No hopes remained, after his violent breach with the last parliament, that he would ever be able to establish, with general consent, a legal settlement, or temper the military with any mixture of civil authority. All his arts and policy were exhausted; and having so often, by fraud and false pretences, deceived every party, and almost every individual, he could no longer hope, by repeating the same professions, to meet with equal confidence and regard. CHAP. LXI. 1658.

However zealous the royalists, their conspiracy took not effect: Willis discovered the whole to the protector. Ormond was obliged to fly, and he deemed himself fortunate to have escaped so vigilant an administration. Great numbers were thrown into prison. A high court of justice was anew erected for the trial of those criminals, whose guilt was most apparent. Notwithstanding the recognition of his authority by the last parliament, the protector could not, as yet, trust to an unbyassed jury. Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Huet were condemned and beheaded. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborow, narrowly escaped. The numbers for his condemnation and his acquittal were equal; and just as the sentence was pronounced in his favour, colonel Pride, who was resolved to condemn him, came into court. Ashton, Storey, and Bestley were hanged in different streets of the city.

The conspiracy of the Millenarians in the army struck Cromwel with still greater apprehensions. Harrison and the other discarded officers of that party could not remain at rest. Stimulated equally by revenge, by ambition, and

CHAP. LXI. 1658.

and by conſcience, they ſtill harboured in their breaſt ſome deſperate project; and there wanted not officers in the army, who, from like motives, were diſpoſed to ſecond all their undertakings. The levellers and agitators had been encouraged by Cromwel to interpoſe with their advice in all political deliberations; and he had even pretended to honour many of them with his intimate friendſhip, while he conducted his daring enterprizes againſt the king and the parliament. It was an uſual practice with him, in order to familiarize himſelf the more with the agitators, who were commonly corporals or ſerjeants, to take them to bed with him, and there, after prayers and exhortations, to diſcuſs together their projects and principles, political as well as religious. Having aſſumed the dignity of protector, he excluded them from all his councils, and had neither leiſure nor inclination to indulge them any farther in their wonted familiarities. Among thoſe who were enraged at this alteration was Sexby; an active agitator, who now employed againſt him all that reſtleſs induſtry, which had formerly been exerted in his favour. He even went ſo far as to enter into a negotiation with Spain; and Cromwel, who knew the diſtempers of the army, was juſtly afraid of ſome mutiny, to which a day, an hour, an inſtant, might provide leaders.

Of aſſaſſinations likewiſe he was apprehenſive, from the zealous ſpirit, which actuated the ſoldiers. Sindercome had undertaken to murder him; and, by the moſt unaccountable accidents, had often been prevented from executing his bloody purpoſe. His deſign was diſcovered; but the protector could never find the bottom of the enterprize, nor detect any of his accomplices. He was tried by a jury; and notwithſtanding the general odium attending that crime, notwithſtanding the clear and full proof of his guilt, ſo little conviction prevailed

of

of the protector's right to the supreme government, it was with the utmost difficulty [p] that this conspirator was condemned. When every thing was prepared for his execution, he was found dead; from poison, as is supposed, which he had voluntarily taken. CHAP. LXI. 1658.

THE protector might better have supported those fears and apprehensions, which the public distempers occasioned, had he enjoyed any domestic satisfaction, or possessed any cordial friend of his own family, in whose bosom he could safely have unloaded his anxious and corroding cares. But Fleetwood, his son-in-law, actuated with the wildest zeal, began to estrange himself from him; and was enraged to discover, that Cromwel, in all his enterprizes, had entertained views of promoting his own grandeur, more than of encouraging piety and religion, of which he made such fervent professions. His eldest daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles so vehement, that she could not with patience behold power lodged in a single person, even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were no less prejudiced in favour of the royal cause, and regreted the violences and iniquities, into which, they thought, their family had so unhappily been transported. But above all, the sickness of Mrs. Claypole, his peculiar favorite, a lady endued with many humane virtues, and amiable accomplishments, depressed his anxious mind, and poisoned all his enjoyments. She had entertained a high regard for Dr. Huet, lately executed; and being refused his pardon, the melancholy of her temper, encreased by her distempered body, had prompted her to lament to her father all his sanguinary measures, and urge him to compunction for those heinous crimes, into which his fatal ambition had betrayed him. Her death, which followed

[p] Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 53.

soon

CHAP. LXI.

soon after, gave new edge to every word, which she had uttered.

1658.

All composure of mind was now for ever fled from the protector: He felt, that the grandeur, which he had attained with so much guilt and courage, could not ensure him that tranquillity, which it belongs to virtue alone, and moderation fully to ascertain. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs, dreading perpetually some fatal accident in his distempered government, seeing nothing around him but treacherous friends or enraged enemies, possessing the confidence of no party, resting his title on no principle, civil or religious, he found his power to depend on so delicate a poize of factions and interests, as the smallest event was able, without any preparation, in a moment to overturn. Death too, which, with such signal intrepidity, he had braved in the field, being incessantly threatened by the poniards of fanatical or interested assassins, was ever present to his terrified apprehension, and haunted him in every scene of business or repose. Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. The aspect of strangers was uneasy to him: With a piercing and anxious eye he surveyed every face, to which he was not daily accustomed. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him: He wore armour under his cloaths, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons, a sword, falchion, and pistols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he slept above three nights together in the same chamber: And he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to choose, nor entrusted himself in any, which was not provided with back-doors, at which sentinels were carefully placed. Society terrified him, while he reflected on his numerous, unknown, and implacable

implacable enemies: Solitude aſtoniſhed him, by withdrawing that protection, which he found ſo neceſſary for his ſecurity.

Sickneſs of the protector.

His body alſo, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected; and his health ſeemed very ſenſibly to decline. He was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the ſpace of a week, no dangerous ſymptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length, the fever encreaſed, and he himſelf began to entertain ſome thoughts of death, and to caſt his eye towards that future exiſtence, whoſe idea had once been intimately preſent to him; though ſince, in the hurry of affairs, and in the ſhock of wars and factions, it had, no doubt, been conſiderably obliterated. He aſked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never fall or ſuffer a final reprobation. "Nothing "more certain," replied the preacher. "Then am I "ſafe," ſaid the protector: "For I am ſure that once I "was in a ſtate of grace."

His phyſicians were ſenſible of the perilous condition, to which his diſtemper had reduced him: But his chaplains, by their prayers, viſions, and revelations, ſo buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of all danger. A favourable anſwer, it was pretended, had been returned by heaven to the petitions of all the godly; and he relied on their aſſeverations much more than on the opinion of the moſt experienced phyſicians. "I tell you," he cried with confidence to the latter, "I tell you, I ſhall not die of this diſtemper: I am "well aſſured of my recovery. It is promiſed by the "Lord, not only to my ſupplications, but to thoſe of "men who hold a ſtricter commerce and more intimate "correſpondence with him. Ye may have ſkill in your "profeſſion; but nature can do more than all the phy-

"ſicians

CHAP. LXI.

1653.

ficians in the world, and God is far above nature q." Nay, to such a degree of madness did their enthusiastic assurances mount, that, upon a fast day, which was observed, on his account, both at Hampton Court and at White-hall, they did not so much pray for his health, as give thanks for the undoubted pledges, which they had received of his recovery. He himself was overheard offering up his addresses to heaven; and so far had the illusions of fanaticism prevailed over the plainest dictates of natural morality, that he assumed more the character of a mediator, in interceding for his people, than that of a criminal, whose atrocious violation of social duty had, from every tribunal, human and divine, merited the severest vengeance.

MEANWHILE all the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect; and the physicians were obliged to break silence, and to declare that the protector could not survive the next fit, with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A deputation was sent to know his will with regard to his successor. His senses were gone, and he could not now express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean, that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the protectorship. A simple affirmative was, or seemed to be extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3d of September, that very day, which he had always considered as the most for-

His death,

tunate for him, he expired. A violent tempest, which immediately succeeded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar. His partizans, as well as his opponents, were fond of remarking this event; and each of them endeavoured, by forced inferences, to interpret it as a confirmation of their particular prejudices.

and character.

THE writers, attached to the memory of this wonderful person, make his character, with regard to abilities,

q Bates: See also Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 355, 416.

bear

bear the air of the moſt extravagant panegyric: His enemies form ſuch a repreſentation of his moral qualities as reſembles the moſt virulent invective. Both of them, it muſt be confeſſed, are ſupported by ſuch ſtriking circumſtances in his conduct and fortune as beſtow on their repreſentation a great air of probability. "What can "be more extraordinary," it is ſaid [r], "than that a per- "ſon, of private birth and education, no fortune, no "eminent qualities of body, which have ſometimes, nor "ſhining talents of mind, which have often raiſed men "to the higheſt dignities, ſhould have the courage to "attempt and the abilities to execute ſo great a deſign as "the ſubverting one of the moſt ancient and beſt eſta- "bliſhed monarchies in the world? That he ſhould "have the power and boldneſs to put his prince and ma- "ſter to an open and infamous death? Should baniſh "that numerous and ſtrongly allied family? Cover all "theſe temerities under a ſeeming obedience to a parlia- "ment, in whoſe ſervice he pretended to be retained? "Trample too upon that parliament in their turn, and "ſcornfully expel them as ſoon as they gave him ground "of diſſatisfaction? Erect in their place the dominion of "the ſaints, and give reality to the moſt viſionary idea, "which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever "able to entertain? Suppreſs again that monſter in its "infancy, and openly ſet up himſelf above all things "that ever were called ſovereign in England? Over- "come firſt all his enemies by arms, and all his friends "afterwards by artifice? Serve all parties patiently for a "while, and command them victoriouſly at laſt? Over- "run each corner of the three nations, and ſubdue with "equal facility, both the riches of the ſouth, and the "poverty of the north? Be feared and courted by all

[r] Cowley's Diſcourſes: This paſſage is altered in ſome particulars from the original.

"foreign

CHAP. LXI. 1658.

" foreign princes, and be adopted a brother to the gods " of the earth? Call together parliaments with a word " of his pen, and ſcatter them again with the breath of " his mouth? Reduce to ſubjection a warlike and diſ- " contented nation, by means of a mutinous army? " Command a mutinous army by means of ſeditious and " factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, " that he would be pleaſed, at the rate of millions a " year, to be hired as maſter of thoſe who had hired him " before to be their ſervant? Have the eſtates and lives " of three nations as much at his diſpoſal as was once the " little inheritance of his father, and be as noble and " liberal in the ſpending of them? And laſtly (for there " is no end of enumerating every particular of his glory) " with one word bequeath all this power and ſplendor to " his poſterity? Die poſſeſſed of peace at home and tri- " umph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more " than regal ſolemnity? And leave a name behind him " not to be extinguiſhed but with the whole world; " which as it was too little for his praiſe, ſo might it " have been for his conqueſts, if the ſhort line of his " mortal life could have ſtretched out to the extent of his " immortal deſigns?"

My intention is not to diſfigure this picture, drawn by ſo maſterly a hand: I ſhall only endeavour to remove from it ſomewhat of the marvellous; a circumſtance which, on all occaſions, gives much ground for doubt and ſuſpicion. It ſeems to me, that the circumſtance of Cromwel's life, in which his abilities are principally diſcovered, is his riſing, from a private ſtation, in oppoſition to ſo many rivals, ſo much advanced before him, to a high command and authority in the army. His great courage, his ſignal military talents, his eminent dexterity and addreſs, were all requiſite for this important acquiſition. Yet will not this promotion appear the effect of ſupernatural

ſupernatural abilities, when we conſider, that Fairfax himſelf, a private gentleman, who had not the advantage of a ſeat in parliament, had, through the ſame ſteps, attained even a ſuperior rank, and, if endued with common capacity and penetration, had been able to retain it. To incite ſuch an army to rebellion againſt the parliament, required no uncommon art or induſtry: To have kept them in obedience had been the more difficult enterprize. When the breach was once formed between the military and civil powers, a ſupreme and abſolute authority, from that moment, is devolved on the general; and if he is afterwards pleaſed to employ artifice or policy, it may be regarded, on moſt occaſions, as great condeſcenſion, if not as ſuperfluous caution. That Cromwel was ever able really to blind or over-reach, either the king or the republicans, does not appear: As they poſſeſſed no means of reſiſting the force under his command, they were glad to temporize with him, and, by ſeeming to be deceived, wait for opportunities of freeing themſelves from his dominion. If he ſeduced the military fanatics, it is to be conſidered, that their intereſt and his evidently concurred, that their ignorance and low education expoſed them to the groſſeſt impoſition, and that he himſelf was at bottom as frantic an enthuſiaſt as the worſt of them, and, in order to obtain their confidence, needed but to diſplay thoſe vulgar and ridiculous habits, which he had early acquired, and on which he ſet ſo high a value. An army is ſo forcible, and at the ſame time ſo coarſe a weapon, that any hand, which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any aſcendant, in human ſociety.

THE domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel, though it diſcovers great ability, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power: Perhaps, his difficult ſituation admitted of neither. His foreign enterprizes,

CHAP. LXI.

1658.

though full of intrepidity, were pernicious to national intereſt, and ſeem more the reſult of impetuous fury or narrow prejudices, than of cool foreſight and deliberation. An eminent perſonage, however, he was in many reſpects, and even a ſuperior genius; but unequal and irregular in his operations. And though not defective in any talent, except that of elocution, the abilities, which in him were moſt admirable, and which moſt contributed to his marvellous ſucceſs, were the magnanimous reſolution of his enterprizes, and his peculiar dexterity in diſcovering the characters, and practiſing on the weakneſſes of mankind.

If we ſurvey the moral character of Cromwel with that indulgence, which is due to the blindneſs and infirmities of the human ſpecies, we ſhall not be inclined to load his memory with ſuch violent reproaches as thoſe which his enemies uſually throw upon it. Amidſt the paſſions and prejudices of that time, that he ſhould prefer the parliamentary to the royal cauſe, will not appear extraordinary; ſince, even at preſent, ſome men of ſenſe and knowledge are diſpoſed to think, that the queſtion, with regard to the juſtice of the quarrel, may be regarded as doubtful and ambiguous. The murder of the king, the moſt atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illuſions; and it is not impoſſible, but he might believe it, as many others did, the moſt meritorious action, that he could perform. His ſubſequent uſurpation was the effect of neceſſity, as well as of ambition; nor is it eaſy to ſee, how the various factions could at that time have been reſtrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwel, as a ſon, a huſband, a father, a friend, is expoſed to no conſiderable cenſure, if it does not rather merit praiſe. And upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unuſual by the mixture of ſo much abſurdity

dity with so much penetration, than by his tempering such violent ambition and such enraged fanaticism with so much regard to justice and humanity. CHAP. LXI. 1658.

Cromwel was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he died. He was of a robust frame of body, and of a manly, though not of an agreeable aspect. He left only two sons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters; one married to general Fleetwood, another to lord Falconberg, a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was young. His mother lived till after he was protector; and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. She could not be persuaded, that his power or person was ever in safety. At every noise, which she heard, she exclaimed, that her son was murdered; and was never satisfied that he was alive, if she did not receive frequent visits from him. She was a decent woman; and by her frugality and industry had raised and educated a numerous family upon a small fortune. She had even been obliged to set up a brewery at Huntingdon, which she managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwel, in the invectives of that age, is often stigmatized with the name of the Brewer. Ludlow, by way of insult, mentions the great accession, which he would receive to his royal revenues upon his mother's death, who possessed a jointure of sixty pounds a year upon his estate. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart; remotely allied, as is by some supposed, to the royal family.

CHAP. LXII.

Richard acknowledged protector——A parliament——Cabal of Wallingford House——Richard deposed——Long parliament or Rump restored——Conspiracy of the royalists——Insurrection——Suppressed——Parliament expelled——Committee of safety——Foreign affairs——General Monk——Monk declares for the parliament——Parliament restored——Monk enters London, declares for a free parliament——Secluded members restored——Long parliament dissolved——New parliament——The Restoration——Manners and arts.

CHAP. LXII.

1658. ALL the arts of Cromwel's policy had been so often practised, that they began to lose their effect; and his power, instead of being confirmed by time and success, seemed every day to become more uncertain and precarious. His friends the most closely connected with him, and his counsellors the most trusted, were entering into cabals against his authority; and with all his penetration into the characters of men, he could not find any ministers, on whom he could rely. Men of probity and honour, he knew, would not submit to be the instruments of an usurpation, violent and illegal: Those, who were free from the restraint of principle, might betray, for interest, that cause, in which, from no better motives, they had inlisted themselves. Even those, on whom he conferred any favour, never deemed the recompence an equivalent for the sacrifices, which they made to obtain

tain it: Whoever was refuſed any demand, juſtified his anger by the ſpecious colours of conſcience and of duty. Such difficulties ſurrounded the protector, that his dying at ſo critical a time, is eſteemed by many the moſt fortunate circumſtance that ever attended him; and it was thought, that all his courage and dexterity could not much longer have extended his uſurped adminiſtration.

BUT when that potent hand was removed, which conducted the government, every one expected a ſudden diſſolution of the unwieldy and ill-jointed fabric. Richard, a young man of no experience, educated in the country, accuſtomed to a retired life, unacquainted with the officers and unknown to them, recommended by no military exploits, endeared by no familiarities, could not long, it was thought, maintain that authority, which his father had acquired by ſo many valorous atchievements, and ſuch ſignal ſucceſſes. And when it was obſerved, that he poſſeſſed only the virtues of private life, which in his ſituation were ſo many vices; that indolence, incapacity, irreſolution attended his facility and good nature; the various hopes of men were excited by the expectation of ſome great event or revolution. For ſome time, however, the public was diſappointed in this opinion. The council recognized the ſucceſſion of Richard: Fleetwood, in whoſe favour, it was ſuppoſed, Cromwel had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretenſion to the protectorſhip: Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, enſured him the obedience of that kingdom: Monk, whoſe authority was well eſtabliſhed in Scotland, being much attached to the family of Cromwel, immediately proclaimed the new protector: The army, every where, the fleet, acknowledged his title: Above ninety addreſſes, from the counties and moſt conſiderable corporations, congratulated him on his acceſſion, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance: Foreign

Richard acknowledged protector.

CHAP. LXII.

1658. miniſters were forward in paying him the uſual compliments: And Richard, whoſe moderate, unambitious character, never would have led him to contend for empire, was tempted to accept of ſo rich an inheritance, which ſeemed to be tendered to him, by the conſent of all mankind.

A parliament. It was found neceſſary to call a parliament, in order to furniſh ſupplies, both for the ordinary adminiſtration, and for fulfilling thoſe engagements with foreign princes, particularly Sweden, into which the late protector had entered. In hopes of obtaining greater influence in elections, the ancient right was reſtored to all the ſmall burroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their

1659. accuſtomed members. The houſe of peers or the other houſe conſiſted of the ſame perſons, that had been appointed by Oliver.

7th of January. All the commons, at firſt, ſigned without heſitation an engagement not to alter the preſent government. They next proceeded to examine *the humble petition and advice*; and after great oppoſition and many vehement debates, it was, at laſt, with much difficulty, carried by the court-party to confirm it. An acknowledgement too of the authority of the other houſe was extorted from them; though it was reſolved not to treat this houſe of peers with any greater reſpect than they ſhould return to the commons. A declaration was alſo made, that the eſtabliſhment of the other houſe ſhould no wiſe prejudice the right of ſuch of the ancient peers as had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the parliament. But in all theſe proceedings, the oppoſition among the commons was ſo conſiderable, and the debates were ſo much prolonged, that all buſineſs was retarded, and great alarm given to the partizans of the young protector.

But there was another quarter from which greater dangers were juſtly apprehended. The moſt conſiderable officers

officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the protector, were entering into cabals againſt him. No character in human ſociety is more dangerous than that of the fanatic; becauſe, if attended with weak judgment, he is expoſed to the ſuggeſtions of others; if ſupported by more diſcernment, he is entirely governed by his own illuſions, which ſanctify his moſt ſelfiſh views and paſſions. Fleetwood was of the former ſpecies; and being extremely addicted to a republic, and even to the fifth monarchy or dominion of the ſaints, it was eaſy for thoſe, who had inſinuated themſelves into his confidence, to inſtil diſguſts againſt the dignity of protector. The whole republican party in the army, which was ſtill conſiderable, Fitz, Maſon, Moſs, Farley, united themſelves to that general. The officers too of the ſame party, whom Cromwel had diſcarded, Overton, Ludlow, Rich, Okey, Alured, began to appear, and to recover that authority, which had been only for a time ſuſpended. A party likewiſe, who found themſelves eclipſed in Richard's favour, Sydenham, Kelſey, Berry, Haines, joined the cabal of the others. Even Deſborow, the protector's uncle, lent his authority to that faction. But above all, the intrigues of Lambert, who was now rouzed from his retreat, inflamed all thoſe dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with ſome great convulſion. All the diſcontented officers eſtabliſhed their meetings in Fleetwood's apartments; and becauſe he dwelt in Wallingford houſe, the party received a denomination from that place.

CHAP. LXII. 1659.

Cabal of Walling-ford-houſe.

Richard, who poſſeſſed neither reſolution nor penetration, was prevailed on to give an unguarded conſent for calling a general council of officers, who might make him propoſals, as they pretended, for the good of the army. No ſooner were they aſſembled than they voted a remonſtrance. They there lamented, that *the good old*

CHAP. LXII. 1659.

cauſe, as they termed it, that is, the cauſe, for which they had engaged againſt the king, was entirely neglected; and they propoſed as a remedy, that the whole military power ſhould be entruſted to ſome perſon, in whom they might all confide. The city militia, influenced by two aldermen, Tichburn and Ireton, expreſſed the ſame reſolution of adhering to *the good old cauſe*.

THE protector was juſtly alarmed at thoſe movements among the officers. The perſons, in whom he chiefly confided, were, all of them, excepting Broghill, men of civil characters and profeſſions; Fiennes, Thurloe, Whitlocke, Wolſeley; who could only aſſiſt him with their advice and opinion. He poſſeſſed none of thoſe arts, which were proper to gain an enthuſiaſtic army. Murmurs being thrown out againſt ſome promotions, which he had made, *Would you have me*, ſaid he, *prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldſby*, continued he, *who can neither pray nor preach; yet will I truſt him before ye all*[s]. This imprudence gave great offence to the pretended ſaints. The other qualities of the protector were correſpondent to theſe ſentiments: He was of a gentle, humane, and generous diſpoſition. Some of his party offering to put an end to thoſe intrigues by the death of Lambert, he declared, that he would not purchaſe power or dominion by ſuch ſanguinary meaſures.

THE parliament was no leſs alarmed at the military cabals. They voted, that there ſhould be no meeting or general council of officers, except with the protector's conſent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The officers haſtened to Richard, and demanded of him the diſſolution of the parliament. Deſborow, a man of a clowniſh and brutal nature, threatened him, if he ſhould refuſe compliance. The protector wanted the reſolution to deny, and poſ-

[s] Ludlow.

ſeſſed

CHAP. LXII.

1659. 22d April. Richard deposed.

ſeſſed little ability to reſiſt. The parliament was diſſolved; and by the ſame act, the protector was, by every one, conſidered as effectually dethroned. Soon after, he ſigned his demiſſion in form.

HENRY, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the ſame moderate diſpoſition as Richard; but as he enjoyed more vigour and capacity, it was apprehended, that he might make reſiſtance. His popularity in Ireland was great; and even his perſonal authority, notwithſtanding his youth, was conſiderable. Had his ambition been very eager, he had, no doubt, been able to create diſturbance: But being threatened by Sir Hardreſs Waller, colonel John Jones, and other officers, he very quietly reſigned his command, and retired to England. He had once entertained thoughts, which he had not reſolution to execute, of proclaiming the king in Dublin [t].

THUS fell, ſuddenly and from an enormous height, but, by a rare fortune, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwels. Richard continued to poſſeſs an eſtate, which was moderate, and burdened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the reſtoration, though he remained unmoleſted, he thought proper to travel for ſome years; and at Pezenas in Languedoc he was introduced under a borrowed name to the prince of Conti. That prince, talking of Engliſh affairs, broke out into admiration of Cromwel's courage and capacity. "But as for that poor "pitiful fellow, Richard," ſaid he, "what has become "of him? How could he be ſuch a blockhead as to reap "no greater benefit from all his father's crimes and ſuc-"ceſſes?" Richard extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of queen Anne's reign. His ſocial virtues, more valuable than the greateſt capacity, met with a recompence, more

[t] Carte's collections, vol. ii. p. 243.

precious

CHAP. LXII.

precious than noisy fame and more suitable, contentment and tranquillity.

1659. The council of officers, now possessed of supreme authority, deliberated what form of government they should establish. Many of them seemed inclined to exercise the power of the sword in the most open manner; but as it was apprehended, that the people would with great difficulty be induced to pay taxes, levied by arbitrary will and pleasure; it was agreed to preserve the shadow of civil administration, and to revive the long parliament, which had been expelled by Cromwel. They could not be dissolved, it was asserted, but by their own consent; and violence had interrupted, but was not able to destroy, their right to government. The officers also expected, that, as these members had sufficiently felt their own weakness, they would be contented to act in subordination to the military commanders, and would thenceforth allow all the authority to remain, where the power was so visibly vested.

The officers applied to Lenthal, the speaker, and proposed to him, that the parliament should resume their seats. Lenthal was a man of a low, timid spirit; and being uncertain what issue might attend these counsels, was desirous of evading the proposal. He replied, that he could by no means comply with the desire of the officers; being engaged in a business of far greater importance to himself, which he could not omit on any account, because it concerned the salvation of his own soul. The officers pressed him to tell what it might be. He was preparing, he said, to participate of the Lord's supper, which he resolved to take the next sabbath day. They insisted, that mercy was preferable to sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for that great duty, than by contributing to the public service. All their remonstrances had no effect. However, on the appointed day,

day, the ſpeaker, being informed, that a quorum of the houſe was likely to meet, thought proper, notwithſtanding the ſalvation of his ſoul, as Ludlow obſerves, to join them; and the houſe immediately proceeded upon buſineſs. The ſecluded members attempted, but in vain, to reſume their ſeats among them. 1659.

Long parliament or rump reſtored.

THE numbers of this parliament were ſmall, little exceeding ſeventy members: Their authority in the nation, ever ſince they had been purged by the army, was extremely diminiſhed; and after their expulſion, had been totally annihilated: But being all of them men of violent ambition; ſome of them men of experience and capacity; they were reſolved, ſince they enjoyed the title of the ſupreme authority, and obſerved, that ſome appearance of a parliament was requiſite for the purpoſes of the army, not to act a ſubordinate part to thoſe who acknowledged themſelves their ſervants. They choſe a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford-houſe ſhould not be the majority: They appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inſerted in his commiſſion, that it ſhould only continue during the pleaſure of the houſe: They choſe ſeven perſons, who ſhould nominate to ſuch commands as became vacant: And they voted, that all commiſſions ſhould be received from the ſpeaker, and be ſigned by him in the name of the houſe. Theſe precautions, the tendency of which was viſible, gave great diſguſt to the general officers; and their diſcontent would immediately have broken out into ſome reſolution, fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by the apprehenſions of danger from the common enemy.

THE bulk of the nation conſiſted of royaliſts and preſbyterians; and to both theſe parties the dominion of the pretended parliament had ever been to the laſt degree odious. When that aſſembly was expelled by Cromwel, contempt had ſucceeded to hatred; and no reſerve had been

CHAP. LXII.

1659.

been used in expressing the utmost derision against the impotent ambition of these usurpers. Seeing them reinstated in authority, all orders of men felt the highest indignation; together with apprehensions, lest such tyrannical rulers should exert their power by taking vengeance upon their enemies, who had so openly insulted them. A secret reconciliation, therefore, was made between the rival parties; and it was agreed, that, burying former enmities in oblivion, all efforts should be used for the overthrow of the rump; so they called the parliament, in allusion to that part of the animal body. The presbyterians, sensible from experience, that their passion for liberty, however laudable, had carried them into unwarrantable excesses, were willing to lay aside ancient jealousies, and, at all hazards, to restore the royal family. The nobility, the gentry bent their passionate endeavours to the same enterprize, by which alone they could be redeemed from slavery. And no man was so remote from party, so indifferent to public good, as not to feel the most ardent wishes, for the dissolution of that tyranny, which, whether the civil or the military part of it were considered, appeared equally oppressive and ruinous to the nation.

Conspiracy of the royalists.

MORDAUNT, who had so narrowly escaped on his trial, before the high-court of justice, seemed rather animated than daunted with past danger; and having, by his resolute behaviour, obtained the highest confidence of the royal party, he was now become the centre of all their conspiracies. In many counties, a resolution was taken to rise in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Horatio Townshend undertook to secure Lynne: General Massey engaged to seize Gloceſter: Lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen conspired to take possession of Shrewsbury; Sir George Booth of Chester; Sir Thomas Middleton of North-Wales; Arundel, Pollard, Granville, Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter. A

day

day was appointed for the execution of all these enterprizes. And the king, attended by the duke of York, had secretly arrived at Calais, with a resolution of putting himself at the head of his loyal subjects. The French court had promised to supply him with a small body of forces, in order to countenance the insurrections of the English. CHAP. LXII. 1659.

This combination was disconcerted by the infidelity of Sir Richard Willis. That traitor continued with the parliament the same correspondence, which he had begun with Cromwel. He had engaged to reveal all conspiracies, so far as to destroy their effect; but reserved to himself, if he pleased, the power of concealing the conspirators. He took care never to name any of the old, genuine cavaliers, who had zealously adhered, and were resolved still to adhere, to the royal cause in every fortune. These men he esteemed; these he even loved. He betrayed only the new converts among the presbyterians, or such lukewarm royalists, as, discouraged with their disappointments, were resolved to expose themselves to no more hazards. A lively proof, how impossible it is, even for the most corrupted minds, to divest themselves of all regard to morality and social duty!

Many of the conspirators in the different counties were thrown into prison: Others, astonished at such symptoms of secret treachery, left their houses or remained quiet: The most tempestuous weather prevailed during the whole time appointed for the rendezvouses; insomuch that some found it impossible to join their friends, and others were dismayed with fear and superstition at an incident so unusual during the summer season. Of all the projects, the only one which took effect, was that of Sir George Booth for the seizing of Chester. The earl of Derby, lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee, colonel Morgan entered into this enterprize. Sir William Middleton July.

CHAP. LXII.

1659. Middleton joined Booth with ſome troops from North Wales; and the malcontents were powerful enough to ſubdue all in that neighbourhood, who ventured to oppoſe them. In their declaration they made no mention of the king: They only demanded a free and full parliament.

THE parliament was juſtly alarmed. How combuſtible the materials were they well knew; and the fire was now fallen among them. Booth was of a family eminently preſbyterian; and his conjunction with the royaliſts they regarded as a dangerous ſymptom. They had many officers, whoſe fidelity they could more depend on than that of Lambert: But there was no one in whoſe vigilance and capacity they repoſed ſuch confidence. They commiſſioned him to ſuppreſs the rebels. He made incredible haſte. Booth imprudently ventured himſelf out of the walls of Cheſter, and expoſed, in the open field, his raw troops againſt theſe hardy veterans. He was ſoon routed and taken priſoner. His whole army was diſperſed. And the parliament had no farther occupation than to fill all the jails with their open or ſecret enemies. Deſigns were even entertained of tranſporting the loyal families to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the other colonies; leſt they ſhould propagate in England children of the ſame malignant affections with themſelves.

Suppreſſed.

THIS ſucceſs haſtened the ruin of the parliament. Lambert, at the head of a body of troops, was no leſs dangerous to them than Booth. A thouſand pounds, which they ſent him to buy a jewel, were employed by him in liberalities to his officers. At his inſtigation they drew up a petition, and tranſmitted it to Fleetwood, a weak man, and an honeſt, if ſincerity in folly deſerve that honourable name. The import of this petition was, that Fleetwood ſhould be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general, Deſborow lieutenant-general of the horſe, Monk major-general of the foot. To which a demand

demand was added, that no officer ſhould be diſmiſſed from his command but by a court-martial. CHAP. LXII.

THE parliament, alarmed at the danger, immediately caſhiered Lambert, Deſborow, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelſey, Cobbet. Sir Arthur Hazelrig propoſed the impeachment of Lambert for high treaſon. Fleetwood's commiſſion was vacated, and the command of the army was veſted in ſeven perſons, of whom that general was one. The parliament voted, that they would have no more general officers. And they declared it high treaſon to levy any money without conſent of parliament. 1659.

BUT theſe votes were feeble weapons in oppoſition to the ſwords of the ſoldiery. Lambert drew ſome troops together, in order to decide the controverſy. Okey, who was leading his regiment to the aſſiſtance of the parliament, was deſerted by them. Morley and Moſs brought their regiments into Palace-yard, reſolute to oppoſe the violence of Lambert. But that artful general knew an eaſy way of diſappointing them. He placed his ſoldiers in the ſtreets which lead to Weſtminſter-hall. When the ſpeaker came in his coach, he ordered the horſes to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were in like manner intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace-yard, obſerving that they were expoſed to deriſion, peaceably retired to their quarters. A little before this bold enterprize, a ſolemn faſt had been kept by the army; and it is remarked, that this ceremony was the uſual prelude to every ſignal violence, which they committed. 13th October. Parliament expelled.

THE officers found themſelves again inveſted with ſupreme authority, of which they intended for ever to retain the ſubſtance, however they might beſtow on others the empty ſhadow or appearance. They elected a committee of twenty-three perſons, of whom ſeven were officers. Theſe they pretended to inveſt with ſovereign 26th October.

CHAP. LXII.

1659. Committee of safety.

authority; and they called them a *committee of safety*. They spoke every where of summoning a parliament, chosen by the people; but they really took some steps towards assembling a military parliament, composed of officers, elected from every regiment in the service [u]. Throughout the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody massacre and extermination; to the rest of the people, of perpetual servitude, beneath those sanctified robbers, whose union and whose divisions would be equally destructive, and who, under pretence of superior illuminations, would soon extirpate, if possible, all private morality, as they had already done all public law and justice, from the British dominions.

Foreign affairs.

During the time that England continued in this distracted condition, the other kingdoms of Europe were hastening towards a composure of those differences, by which they had so long been agitated. The parliament, while it preserved authority, instead of following the imprudent politics of Cromwel, and lending assistance to the conquering Swede, embraced the maxims of the Dutch commonwealth, and resolved, in conjunction with that state, to mediate by force an accommodation between the northern crowns. Montague was sent with a squadron to the Baltic, and carried with him as ambassador Algernon Sidney, the celebrated republican. Sidney found the Swedish monarch employed in the siege of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy; and was highly pleased, that, with a Roman arrogance, he could check the progress of royal victories, and display in so signal a manner the superiority of freedom above tyranny. With the highest indignation, the ambitious prince was obliged to submit to the imperious mediation of the two commonwealths. "It is cruel," said he, "that laws should be

[u] Ludlow.

"prescribed

"prescribed me by parricides and pedlars." But his whole army was enclosed in an island, and might be starved by the combined squadrons of England and Holland. He was obliged, therefore, to quit his prey, when he had so nearly got possession of it; and having agreed to a pacification with Denmark, he retired into his own country, where he soon after died. CHAP. LXII. 1659.

THE wars between France and Spain were also concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees. These animosities had long been carried on between the rival states, even while governed by a sister and brother, who cordially loved and esteemed each other. But politics, which had so long prevailed over these friendly affections, now at last yielded to their influence; and never was the triumph more full and complete. The Spanish Low Countries, if not every part of that monarchy, lay almost entirely at the mercy of its enemy. Broken armies, disordered finances, slow and irresolute counsels; by these resources alone were the dispersed provinces of Spain defended against the vigorous power of France. But the queen regent, anxious for the fate of her brother, employed her authority with the cardinal to stop the progress of the French conquests, and put an end to a quarrel, which, being commenced by ambition, and attended with victory, was at last concluded with moderation. The young monarch of France, though aspiring and warlike in his character, was at this time entirely occupied in the pleasures of love and gallantry, and had passively resigned the reins of empire into the hands of his politic minister. And he remained an unconcerned spectator; while an opportunity for conquest was parted with, which he never was able, during the whole course of his active reign, fully to retrieve.

The ministers of the two crowns, Mazarine and don Louis de Haro, met at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the isle of Pheasants, a place which was supposed to belong to neither kingdom. The negotiation being brought to

CHAP. LXII.

1659.

an issue by frequent conferences between the ministers; the monarchs themselves agreed to a congress; and these two splendid courts appeared in their full lustre amidst those savage mountains. Philip brought his daughter, Mary Therese, along with him; and giving her in marriage to his nephew, Louis, endeavoured to cement by this new tye the incompatible interests of the two monarchies. The French king made a solemn renunciation of every succession, which might accrue to him in right of his spouse; a vain formality, too weak to restrain the ungoverned ambition of princes.

The affairs of England were in so great disorder, that it was not possible to comprehend that kingdom in the treaty, or adjust measures with a power, which was in such incessant fluctuation. The king, reduced to despair by the failure of all enterprizes for his restoration, was resolved to try the weak resource of foreign succours; and he went to the Pyrenees at the time when the two ministers were in the midst of their negotiations. Don Louis received him with that generous civility, peculiar to his nation; and expressed great inclination, had the low condition of Spain allowed him, to give assistance to the distressed monarch. The cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the English commonwealth, refused even to see him; and though the king offered to marry the cardinal's niece [w], he could, for the present, obtain nothing but empty professions of respect and protestations of services. The condition of that monarch, to all the world, seemed totally desperate. His friends had been baffled in every attempt for his service: The scaffold had often streamed with the blood of the most active royalists: The spirits of many were broken with tedious imprisonments: The estates of all were burthened by the fines and confiscations, which had been levied upon them: No-one durst openly avow himself of

[w] K. James's Memoirs.

that

that party: And ſo ſmall did their number ſeem to a ſuperficial view, that, even ſhould the nation recover its liberty, which was eſteemed no wiſe probable, it was judged uncertain what form of government it would embrace. But amidſt all theſe gloomy proſpects, fortune, by a ſurprizing revolution, was now paving the way for the king to mount, in peace and triumph, the throne of his anceſtors. It was by the prudence and loyalty of general Monk, that this happy change was at laſt accompliſhed. CHAP. LXII. 1659.

GEORGE MONK, to whom the fate was reſerved of reeſtabliſhing monarchy, and finiſhing the bloody diſſenſions of three kingdoms, was the ſecond ſon of a family in Devonſhire, ancient and honourable, but lately, from too great hoſpitality and expence, ſomewhat fallen to decay. He betook himſelf, early in youth, to the profeſſion of arms; and was engaged in the unfortunate expeditions to Cadiz and the iſle of Rhé. After England had concluded peace with all its neighbours, he ſought military experience in the Low Countries, the great ſchool of war to all the European nations; and he roſe to the command of a company under lord Goring. This company conſiſted of 200 men, of whom a hundred were volunteers, often gentlemen of family and fortune, ſometimes noblemen, who lived upon their own income in a ſplendid manner. Such a military turn at that time prevailed among the Engliſh! General Monk.

WHEN the ſound of war was firſt heard in this iſland, Monk returned to England, partly deſirous of promotion in his native country, partly diſguſted with ſome ill uſage from the States, of which he found reaſon to complain. Upon the Scottiſh pacification, he was employed by the earl of Leiceſter againſt the Iriſh rebels; and having obtained a regiment, was ſoon taken notice of, for his military ſkill and for his calm and deliberate valour. Without oſtentation, expence, or careſſes, merely by his

CHAP. LXII. 1659.

his humane and equal temper, he gained the good-will of the ſoldiery; who, with a mixture of familiarity and affection, uſually called him *honeſt George Monk*; an honourable appellation, which they ſtill continued to him, even during his greateſt elevation. He was remarkable for his moderation in party; and while all around him were inflamed into rage againſt the oppoſite faction, he fell under ſuſpicion from the candour and tranquillity of his behaviour. When the Iriſh army was called over into England, ſurmiſes of this kind had been ſo far credited, that he had even been ſuſpended from his command, and ordered to Oxford, that he might anſwer the charge laid againſt him. His eſtabliſhed character for truth and ſincerity here ſtood him in great ſtead; and upon his earneſt proteſtations and declarations, he was ſoon reſtored to his regiment, which he joined at the ſiege of Nantwich. The day after his arrival, Fairfax attacked and defeated the royaliſts, commanded by Biron; and took colonel Monk priſoner. He was ſent to the Tower, where he endured, above two years, all the rigors of poverty and confinement. The king, however, was ſo mindful as to ſend him, notwithſtanding his own difficulties, a preſent of 100 guineas; but it was not till after the royaliſts were totally ſubdued, that he recovered his liberty. Monk, however diſtreſſed, had always refuſed the moſt inviting offers from the parliament: But Cromwel, ſenſible of his merit, having ſolicited him to engage in the wars againſt the Iriſh, who were conſidered as rebels both by king and parliament; he was not unwilling to repair his broken fortunes by accepting a command, which, he flattered himſelf, was reconcilable to the ſtricteſt principles of honour. Having once engaged with the parliament, he was obliged to obey orders; and found himſelf neceſſitated to fight, both againſt the marqueſs of Ormond in Ireland, and againſt the king himſelf in Scotland. Upon the reduction of this laſt kingdom, Monk was

left

left with the ſupreme command; and by the equality and juſtice of his adminiſtration he was able to give contentment to that reſtleſs people, now reduced to ſubjection by a nation whom they hated. No leſs acceptable was his authority to the officers and ſoldiers; and foreſeeing, that the good will of the army under his command might ſome time be of great ſervice to him, he had, with much care and ſucceſs, cultivated their friendſhip. 1659.

THE connexions, which he had formed with Cromwel, his benefactor, preſerved him faithful to Richard, who had been enjoined by his father to follow in every thing the directions of general Monk. When the long parliament was reſtored, Monk, who was not prepared for oppoſition, acknowledged their authority, and was continued in his command, from which it would not have been ſafe to attempt diſlodging him. After the army had expelled the parliament, he proteſted againſt the violence, and reſolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper deſigns, either in the king's favour or his own, were, from the beginning, ſuſpected to be the motive of his actions. Monk declares for the parliament.

A RIVALSHIP had long ſubſiſted between him and Lambert; and every body ſaw the reaſon why he oppoſed the elevation of that ambitious general, by whoſe ſucceſs his own authority, he knew, would ſoon be ſubverted. But little friendſhip had ever ſubſiſted between him and the parliamentary leaders; and it ſeemed no wiſe probable, that he intended to employ his induſtry, and ſpend his blood, for the advancement of one enemy above another. How early he entertained deſigns for the king's reſtoration, we know not with certainty: It is likely, that, as ſoon as Richard was depoſed, he foreſaw, that, without ſuch an expedient, it would be impoſſible ever to bring the nation to a regular ſettlement. His elder and younger brothers were entirely devoted to the royal cauſe;

CHAP. LXII.

1659.

The Granvilles, his near relations, and all the reſt of his kindred, were in the ſame intereſt: He himſelf was intoxicated with no fumes of enthuſiaſm, and had maintained no connexions with any of the fanatical tribe. His early engagements had been with the king, and he had left that ſervice without receiving any diſguſt from the royal family. Since he had inliſted himſelf with the oppoſite party, he had been guilty of no violence or rigor, which might render him obnoxious. His return, therefore, to loyalty was eaſy and open; and nothing could be ſuppoſed to counter-balance his natural propenſity to that meaſure, except the views of his own elevation, and the proſpect of uſurping the ſame grandeur and authority, which had been aſſumed by Cromwel. But from ſuch exorbitant, if not impoſſible projects, the natural tranquillity and moderation of his temper, the calmneſs and ſolidity of his genius, and his limited capacity, not to mention his age, now upon the decline, ſeem to have ſet him at a diſtance. Cromwel himſelf, he always aſſerted [x], could not long have maintained his uſurpation; and any other perſon, even equal to him in genius, it was obvious, would now find it more difficult to practiſe arts, of which every one, from experience, was ſufficiently aware. It is more agreeable, therefore, to reaſon as well as candor to ſuppoſe, that Monk, as ſoon as he put himſelf in movement, had entertained views of effectuating the king's reſtoration; nor ought any objections, derived from his profound ſilence even to Charles himſelf, be regarded as conſiderable. His temper was naturally reſerved; his circumſtances required diſſimulation; the king, he knew, was ſurrounded with ſpies and traitors; and upon the whole, it ſeems hard to interpret that conduct, which ought to exalt our idea of his prudence, as a diſparagement of his probity.

[x] Gumble's life of Monk, p. 93.

CHAP. LXII. 1659.

Sir John Granville, hoping that the general would engage in the king's service, sent into Scotland his younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the king. When the doctor arrived, he found, that his brother was then holding a council of officers, and was not to be seen for some hours. In the mean time, he was received and entertained by Price, the general's chaplain, a man of probity, as well as a partizan of the king's. The doctor having an entire confidence in the chaplain, talked very freely to him about the object of his journey, and engaged him, if there should be occasion, to second his applications. At last, the general arrives; the brothers embrace; and after some preliminary conversation, the doctor opens his business. Monk interrupts him to know, whether he had ever before to any body mentioned the subject. "To no body," replied his brother, "but to "Price, whom I know to be entirely in your con-"fidence." The general, altering his countenance, turned the discourse; and would enter into no farther confidence with him, but sent him away with the first opportunity. He would not trust his own brother the moment he knew that he had disclosed the secret; though to a man whom he himself could have trusted [y].

His conduct in all other particulars was full of the same reserve and prudence; and no less was requisite for effecting the difficult work, which he had undertaken. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any suspicion, he immediately cashiered: Cobbet, who had been sent by the committee of safety, under pretence of communicating their resolutions to Monk, but really with a view of debauching his army, he committed to custody: He drew together the several scattered regiments: He summoned an assembly, somewhat resembling a con-

[y] Lord Lansdown's defence of general Monk.

CHAP. LXII. 1659.

vention of ſtates; and having communicated to them his reſolution of marching into England, he received a ſeaſonable, though no great ſupply of money.

HEARING that Lambert was advancing northward with his army, Monk ſent Cloberry and two other commiſſioners to London, with large profeſſions of his inclination to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. His chief aim was to gain time, and relax the preparations of his enemies. The committee of ſafety fell into the ſnare. A treaty was ſigned by Monk's commiſſioners; but he refuſed to ratify it, and complained that they had exceeded their powers. He deſired however to enter into a new negotiation at Newcaſtle. The committee willingly accepted this fallacious offer.

November. MEANWHILE theſe military ſovereigns found themſelves ſurrounded on all hands with inextricable difficulties. The nation had fallen into a total anarchy; and by refuſing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greateſt neceſſities. While Lambert's forces were aſſembling at Newcaſtle, Hazelrig and Morley took poſſeſſion of Portſmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party, ſent to ſuppreſs them, was perſuaded by their commander to join in the ſame declaration. The city apprentices roſe in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament. Though they were ſuppreſſed by colonel Hewſon, a man who from the profeſſion of a cobler had riſen to a high rank in the army, the city ſtill diſcovered ſymptoms of the moſt dangerous diſcontent. It even eſtabliſhed a kind of ſeparate government, and aſſumed the ſupreme authority within itſelf. Admiral Lauſon with his ſquadron came into the river, and declared for the parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing of this important event, left Portſmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near that city, being ſolicited by their old officers, who had been caſhiered by the committee of ſafety, revolted

revolted again to the parliament. Deſborow's regiment, being ſent by Lambert to ſupport his friends, no ſooner arrived at St. Albans, than it declared for the ſame aſſembly. CHAP. LXII. 1659.

FLEETWOOD's hand was found too weak and unſtable to ſupport this ill-founded fabric, which, every where around him, was falling into ruins. When he received intelligence of any murmurs among the ſoldiers, he would proſtrate himſelf in prayer, and could hardly be prevailed with to join the troops. Even when among them, he would, in the midſt of any diſcourſe, invite them all to prayer, and put himſelf on his knees before them. If any of his friends exhorted him to more vigor, they could get no other anſwer, than that God had ſpit in his face, and would not hear him. Men now ceaſed to wonder, why Lambert had promoted him to the office of general, and had contented himſelf with the ſecond command in the army.

LENTHAL, the ſpeaker, being invited by the officers, again aſſumed authority, and ſummoned together the parliament, which twice before had been expelled with ſo much reproach and ignominy. As ſoon as aſſembled, they repealed their act againſt the payment of exciſe and cuſtoms; they appointed commiſſioners for aſſigning quarters to the army; and without taking any notice of Lambert, they ſent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to thoſe garriſons, which were appointed them. 26th of December. Parliament reſtored.

LAMBERT was now in a very diſconſolate condition. Monk, he ſaw, had paſſed the Tweed at Coldſtream, and was advancing upon him. His own ſoldiers deſerted him in great multitudes, and joined the enemy. Lord Fairfax too, he heard, had raiſed forces behind him, and poſſeſſed himſelf of York, without declaring his purpoſe. 1660. 1ſt January.

The

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

The laſt orders of the parliament ſo entirely ſtripped him of his army, that there remained not with him above a hundred horſe: All the reſt went to their quarters with quietneſs and reſignation; and he himſelf was, ſome time after, arreſted and committed to the Tower. The other officers, who had formerly been caſhiered by the parliament, and who had reſumed their commands, that they might ſubdue that aſſembly, were again caſhiered and confined to their houſes. Sir Harry Vane and ſome members, who had concurred with the committee of ſafety, were ordered into a like confinement. And the parliament now ſeemed to be again poſſeſſed of more abſolute authority than ever, and to be without any danger of oppoſition or controul.

THE republican party was at this time guided by two men, Hazelrig and Vane, who were of oppoſite characters, and mortally hated each other. Hazelrig, who poſſeſſed greater authority in the parliament, was haughty, imperious, precipitate, vain-glorious; without civility, without prudence; qualified only by his noiſy, pertinacious obſtinacy to acquire an aſcendant in public aſſemblies. Vane was noted, in all civil tranſactions, for temper, inſinuation, addreſs, and a profound judgment; in all religious ſpeculations, for folly and extravagance. He was a perfect enthuſiaſt; and fancying that he was certainly favoured with inſpiration, he deemed himſelf, to ſpeak in the language of the times, to be a *man above ordinances*, and by reaſon of his perfection, to be unlimited and unreſtrained by any rules, which govern inferior mortals. Theſe whimſies, mingling with pride, had ſo corrupted his excellent underſtanding, that ſometimes he thought himſelf the perſon deputed to reign on earth for a thouſand years over the whole congregation of the faithful [z].

[z] Clarendon.

MONK,

MONK, though informed of the reſtoration of the parliament, from whom he received no orders, ſtill advanced with his army, which was near 6000 men: The ſcattered forces in England were above five times more numerous. Fairfax, who had reſolved to declare for the king, not being able to make the general open his intentions, retired to his own houſe in Yorkſhire. In all counties through which Monk paſſed, the prime gentry flocked to him with addreſſes; expreſſing their earneſt deſire, that he would be inſtrumental in reſtoring the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of thoſe liberties, which by law were their birthright, but of which, during ſo many years, they had been fatally bereaved: And that, in order to this ſalutary purpoſe, he would prevail, either for the reſtoring of thoſe members, who had been ſecluded before the king's death, or for the election of a new parliament, who might, legally and by general conſent, again govern the nation. Though Monk pretended not to favour theſe addreſſes, that ray of hope, which the knowledge of his character and ſituation afforded, mightily animated all men. The tyranny and the anarchy, which now equally oppreſſed the kingdom; the experience of paſt diſtractions, the dread of future convulſions, the indignation againſt military uſurpation, againſt ſanctified hypocriſy: All theſe motives had united every party, except the moſt deſperate, into ardent wiſhes for the king's reſtoration, the only remedy for all theſe fatal evils.

SCOT and Robinſon were ſent as deputies by the parliament, under pretence of congratulating the general, but in reality to ſerve as ſpies upon him. The city diſpatched four of their principal citizens to perform like compliments; and at the ſame time to confirm the general in his inclination to a free parliament, the object of all men's prayers and endeavours. The authority of

Monk

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

Monk could ſcarcely ſecure the parliamentary deputies from thoſe inſults, which the general hatred and contempt towards their maſters drew from men of every rank and denomination.

MONK continued his march with few interruptions till he reached St. Albans. He there ſent a meſſage to the parliament; deſiring them to remove from London thoſe regiments, who, though they now profeſſed to return to their duty, had ſo lately offered violence to that aſſembly. This meſſage was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed the houſe. Their fate, they found, muſt ſtill depend on a mercenary army; and they were as diſtant as ever from their imaginary ſovereignty. However, they found it neceſſary to comply. The ſoldiers made more difficulty. A mutiny aroſe among them. One regiment in particular, quartered in Somerſet-houſe, expreſsly refuſed to yield their place to the northern army. But thoſe officers, who would gladly, on ſuch an occaſion, have inflamed the quarrel, were abſent or in confinement; and for want of leaders, the ſoldiers were at laſt, with great reluctance, obliged to ſubmit. Monk with his army took quarters in Weſtminſter.

3d February. Monk enters London.

THE general was introduced to the houſe; and thanks were given him by Lenthal for the eminent ſervices, which he had done his country. Monk was a prudent, not an eloquent ſpeaker. He told the houſe, that the ſervices, which he had been enabled to perform, were no more than his duty, and merited not ſuch praiſes as thoſe with which they were pleaſed to honour him: That among many perſons of greater worth, who bore their commiſſion, he had been employed as the inſtrument of providence for effecting their reſtoration; but he conſidered this ſervice as a ſtep only to more important ſervices, which it was *their* part to render to the nation: That while on his march, he obſerved all ranks of men,

6th February.

in

in all places, to be in earneſt expectation of a ſettlement, after the violent convulſions, to which they had been expoſed; and to have no proſpect of that bleſſing but from the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and from the ſummoning of a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: That applications had been made to him for that purpoſe; but that he, ſenſible of his duty, had ſtill told the petitioners, that the parliament itſelf, which was now free and would ſoon be full, was the beſt judge of all theſe meaſures, and that the whole community ought to acquieſce in their determination: That though he expreſſed himſelf in this manner to the people, he muſt now freely inform the houſe, that the fewer engagements were exacted, the more comprehenſive would their plan prove, and the more ſatisfaction would it give to the nation: And that it was ſufficient for public ſecurity, if the fanatical party and the royaliſts were excluded; ſince the principles of theſe factions were deſtructive either of government or of liberty.

THIS ſpeech, containing matter, which was both agreeable and diſagreeable to the houſe as well as to the nation, ſtill kept every one in ſuſpence, and upheld that uncertainty, in which it ſeemed the general's intereſt to retain the public. But it was impoſſible for the kingdom to remain long in this doubtful ſituation: The people, as well as the parliament, puſhed matters to a deciſion. During the late convulſions, the payment of taxes had been interrupted; and though the parliament, upon their aſſembling, renewed the ordinances for collections and impoſitions, yet ſo little reverence did the people pay to thoſe legiſlators, that they gave very ſlow and unwilling obedience to their commands. The common council of London flatly refuſed to ſubmit to an aſſeſſment, required of them; and declared, that, till a free and lawful parliament

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

liament impoſed taxes, they never ſhould deem it their duty to make any payment. This reſolution, if yielded to, would immediately have put an end to the dominion of the parliament: They were determined, therefore, upon this occaſion to make at once a full experiment of their own power and of their general's obedience.

9th February.

MONK received orders to march into the city; to ſeize twelve perſons, the moſt obnoxious to the parliament; to remove the poſts and chains from all the ſtreets; and to take down and break the portcullises and gates of the city: And very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of theſe violent orders. To the great ſurprize and conſternation of all men, Monk prepared himſelf for obedience. Neglecting the entreaties of his friends, the remonſtrances of his officers, the cries of the people, he entered the city in a military manner; he apprehended as many as he could of the proſcribed perſons, whom he ſent to the Tower; with all the circumſtances of contempt he broke the gates and portcullises; and having expoſed the city to the ſcorn and deriſion of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Weſtminſter.

No ſooner had the general leiſure to reflect, than he found, that this laſt meaſure, inſtead of being a continuation of that cautious ambiguity, which he had hitherto maintained, was taking party without reſerve, and laying himſelf, as well as the nation, at the mercy of that tyrannical parliament, whoſe power had long been odious, as their perſons contemptible, to all men. He reſolved, therefore, before it was too late, to repair the dangerous miſtake, into which he had been betrayed, and to ſhow the whole world, ſtill more without reſerve, that he meant no longer to be the miniſter of violence and uſurpation. After complaining of the odious ſervice, in which he had been employed; he wrote a letter to the

11th February.

houſe,

house, reproaching them, as well with the new cabals which they had formed with Vane and Lambert, as with the encouragement given to a fanatical petition presented by Praisegod Barebone; and he required them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole commonwealth, to issue writs, within a week, for the filling of their house, and to fix the time for their own dissolution and the assembling of a new parliament. Having dispatched this letter, which might be regarded, he thought, as an undoubted pledge of his sincerity, he marched with his army into the city, and desired Allen, the mayor, to summon a common-council at Guildhall. He there made many apologies for the indignity, which, two days before, he had been obliged to put upon them; assured them of his perseverance in the measures which he had adopted; and desired that they might mutually plight their faith for a strict union between city and army, in every enterprize for the happiness and settlement of the commonwealth.

Declares for a free parliament.

It would be difficult to describe the joy and exultation, which displayed itself throughout the city, as soon as intelligence was conveyed of this happy measure, embraced by the general. The prospect of peace, concord, liberty, justice, broke forth at once, from amidst the deepest darkness, in which the nation had ever been involved. The view of past calamities no longer presented dismal prognostics of the future: It tended only to inhance the general exultation for those scenes of happiness and tranquillity, which all men now confidently promised themselves. The royalists, the presbyterians, forgetting all animosities, mingled in common joy and transport, and vowed never more to gratify the ambition of false and factious tyrants, by their calamitous divisions. The populace, more outrageous in their festivity, made the air resound with acclamations, and illuminated every street with

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

with signals of jollity and triumph. Applauſes of the general were every where intermingled with deteſtation againſt the parliament. The moſt ridiculous inventions were adopted, in order to expreſs this latter paſſion. At every bonfire rumps were roaſted; and where theſe could no longer be found, pieces of fleſh were cut into that ſhape: And the funeral of the parliament (the populace exclaimed) was celebrated by theſe ſymbols of hatred and deriſion.

THE parliament, though in the agonies of deſpair, made ſtill one effort for the recovery of their dominion. They ſent a committee with offers to gain the general. He refuſed to hear them, except in the preſence of ſome of the ſecluded members. Though ſeveral perſons, deſperate from guilt and fanaticiſm, promiſed to inveſt him with the dignity of ſupreme magiſtrate, and to ſupport his government, he would not hearken to ſuch wild propoſals. Having fixed a cloſe correſpondence with the city, and eſtabliſhed its militia in hands, whoſe fidelity could be relied on, he returned with his army to Weſtminſter, and purſued every proper meaſure for the ſettlement of the nation. While he ſtill pretended to maintain republican principles, he was taking large ſteps towards the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient monarchy.

21ſt February. Secluded members reſtored.

THE ſecluded members, upon the general's invitation, went to the houſe, and finding no longer any obſtruction, they entered, and immediately appeared to be the majority: Moſt of the independents left the place. The reſtored members firſt repealed all the ordinances, by which they had been excluded: They gave Sir George Boothe and his party their liberty and eſtates: They renewed the general's commiſſion, and enlarged his powers: They fixed an aſſeſſment for the ſupport of the fleet and army: And having paſſed theſe votes for the preſent compoſure of the kingdom, they diſſolved themſelves, and

16th March. Long parliament diſſolved.

and issued writs for the immediate assembling of a new parliament. This last measure had been previously concerted with the general, who knew, that all men, however different in affections, expectations, and designs, united in their detestation of the long parliament. CHAP. LXII. 1660.

A COUNCIL OF STATE was established, consisting of men of dignity and moderation; most of whom, during the civil wars, had made a great figure among the presbyterians. The militia of the kingdom was put into such hands as would promote order and settlement. These, conjoined with Monk's army, which lay united at London, were esteemed a sufficient check on the more numerous, though dispersed army, of whose inclinations there was still much reason to be diffident. Monk, however, was every day removing the more obnoxious officers, and bringing the troops to a state of discipline and obedience.

OVERTON, governor of Hull, had declared his resolution to keep possession of that fortress till the coming of king Jesus: But when Alured produced the authority of parliament for his delivering the place to colonel Fairfax, he thought proper to comply.

MONTAGUE, who commanded the fleet in the Baltic, had entered into the conspiracy with Sir George Boothe; and pretending want of provisions, had sailed from the Sound towards the coast of England, with an intention of supporting that insurrection of the royalists. On his arrival he received the news of Boothe's defeat, and the total failure of the enterprize. The great difficulties, to which the parliament was then reduced, allowed them no leisure to examine strictly the reasons, which he gave for quitting his station; and they allowed him to retire peaceably to his country house. The council of state now conferred on him, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet; and secured the naval, as well as

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

military force, in hands favourable to the public settlement.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these steps, which were taking towards the re-establishment of monarchy, Monk still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and hitherto allowed no canal of correspondence between himself and the king to be opened. To call a free parliament, and to restore the royal family, were visibly, in the present disposition of the kingdom, one and the same measure: Yet would not the general declare, otherwise than by his actions, that he had adopted the king's interests; and nothing but necessity extorted at last the confession from him. His silence, in the commencement of his enterprize, ought to be no objection to his sincerity; since he maintained the same reserve, at a time, when, consistent with common sense, he could have entertained no other purpose [a].

THERE was one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a sedentary, studious disposition, nearly related to Monk, and one who had always maintained the strictest intimacy with him. With this friend alone did Monk deliberate concerning that great enterprize, which he had projected. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied to Morrice for access to the general; but received for answer, that the general desired him to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville, though importunately urged, twice refused to deliver his message to any but Monk himself; and this cautious politician, finding him now a person, whose secresy could be safely trusted, admitted him to his presence, and opened to him his whole intentions. Still he scrupled to commit any thing to writing [b]: He delivered only a verbal message by Granville; assuring the king of his services,

[a] See note [L] at the end of the volume. [b] Lansdowne, Clarendon.

giving

giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him inſtantly to leave the Spaniſh territories, and retire into Holland. He was juſtly apprehenſive leſt Spain might detain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles followed theſe directions, and very narrowly eſcaped to Breda. Had he protracted his journey a few hours, he had certainly, under pretence of honour and reſpect, been arreſted by the Spaniards.

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

LOCKHART, who was governor of Dunkirk, and no wiſe averſe to the king's ſervice, was applied to on this occaſion. The ſtate of England was ſet before him, the certainty of the reſtoration repreſented, and the proſpect of great favour diſplayed, if he would anticipate the vows of the kingdom, and receive the king into his garriſon. Lockhart ſtill replied, that his commiſſion was derived from an Engliſh parliament, and he would not open his gates but in obedience to the ſame authority [c]. This ſcruple, though in the preſent emergence it approaches towards ſuperſtition, it is difficult for us entirely to condemn.

THE elections for the new parliament went every where in favour of the king's party. This was one of thoſe popular torrents, where the moſt indifferent, or even the moſt averſe, are tranſported with the general paſſion, and zealouſly adopt the ſentiments of the ſociety, to which they belong. The enthuſiaſts themſelves ſeemed to be diſarmed of their fury; and between deſpair and aſtoniſhment gave way to thoſe meaſures, which they found, it would be impoſſible for them, by their utmoſt efforts, to withſtand. The preſbyterians, the royaliſts, being united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noiſe, but with infinite ardour, called for the king's reſtoration. The kingdom was almoſt entirely in the hands of the former party; and ſome zealous leaders

[c] Burnet.

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

among them began to renew the demand of thoſe conditions, which had been required of the late king in the treaty of Newport: But the general opinion ſeemed to condemn all thoſe rigorous and jealous capitulations with their ſovereign. Harraſſed with convulſions and diſorders, men ardently longed for repoſe, and were terrified at the mention of negotiations or delays, which might afford opportunity to the ſeditious army ſtill to breed new confuſion. The paſſion too for liberty, having been carried to ſuch violent extremes, and having produced ſuch bloody commotions, began, by a natural movement, to give place to a ſpirit of loyalty and obedience; and the public was leſs zealous in a cauſe, which was become odious, on account of the calamities, which had ſo long attended it. After the conceſſions made by the late king, the conſtitution ſeemed to be ſufficiently ſecured; and the additional conditions inſiſted on, as they had been framed during the greateſt ardour of the conteſt, amounted rather to an annihilation than a limitation of monarchy. Above all, the general was averſe to the mention of conditions; and reſolved, that the crown, which he intended to reſtore, ſhould be conferred on the king entirely free and unincumbered. Without farther ſcruple, therefore, or jealouſy, the people gave their voice in elections for ſuch as they knew to entertain ſentiments favourable to monarchy; and all payed court to a party, which, they foreſaw, was ſoon to govern the nation. Though the parliament had voted, that no one ſhould be elected, who had himſelf, or whoſe father had borne arms for the late king; little regard was any where payed to this ordinance. The leaders of the preſbyterians, the earl of Mancheſter, lord Fairfax, lord Roberts, Hollis, Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Anneſley, Lewis, were determined to atone for paſt tranſgreſſions by their preſent zeal for the royal intereſts; and from former merits, ſucceſſes, and ſufferings,

ings, they had acquired with their party the higheſt credit and authority.

THE affairs of Ireland were in a condition no leſs favourable to the king. As ſoon as Monk declared againſt the Engliſh army, he diſpatched emiſſaries into Ireland, and engaged the officers in that kingdom to concur with him in the ſame meaſures. Lord Broghill, preſident of Munſter, and Sir Charles Coote, preſident of Connaught, went ſo far as to enter into a correſpondence with the king, and to promiſe their aſſiſtance for his reſtoration. In conjunction with Sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took poſſeſſion of the government, and excluded Ludlow, who was zealous for the parliament, but whom they pretended to be in a confederacy with the Committee of Safety. They kept themſelves in readineſs to ſerve the king; but made no declarations, till they ſhould ſee the turn, which affairs took in England.

BUT all theſe promiſing views had almoſt been blaſted by an untoward accident. Upon the admiſſion of the ſecluded members, the republican party, particularly the late king's judges, were ſeized with the juſteſt deſpair, and endeavoured to infuſe the ſame ſentiments into the army. By themſelves or their emiſſaries, they repreſented to the ſoldiers, that all thoſe brave actions, which had been performed during the war, and which were ſo meritorious in the eyes of the parliament, would no doubt be regarded as the deepeſt crimes by the royaliſts, and would expoſe the army to the ſevereſt vengeance. That in vain did that party make profeſſions of moderation and lenity: The king's death, the execution of ſo many of the nobility and gentry, the ſequeſtration and impriſonment of the reſt, were in their eyes crimes ſo deep, and offences ſo perſonal, as muſt be proſecuted with the moſt implacable reſentment. That the loſs of all arrears, and the caſhiering of every officer and ſoldier, were the lighteſt

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

punishment, which must be expected: After the dispersion of the army, no farther protection remained to them, either for life or property, but the clemency of enraged victors. And that, even if the most perfect security could be obtained, it was inglorious to be reduced, by treachery and deceit, to subjection under a foe, who, in the open field, had so often yielded to their superior valour.

AFTER these suggestions had been infused into the army, Lambert suddenly made his escape from the Tower, and threw Monk and the council of state into great consternation. They knew Lambert's vigour and activity; they were acquainted with his popularity in the army; they were sensible, that, though the soldiers had lately deserted him, they sufficiently expressed their remorse and their detestation of those, who, by false professions, they found, had so egregiously deceived them. It seemed necessary, therefore, to employ the greatest celerity in suppressing so dangerous a foe: Colonel Ingoldsby, who had been one of the late king's judges, but who was now entirely engaged in the royal cause, was dispatched after

22d April. him. He overtook him at Daventry, while he had yet assembled but four troops of horse. One of them deserted him. Another quickly followed the example. He himself, endeavouring to make his escape, was seized by Ingoldsby, to whom he made submissions not suitable to his former character of spirit and valour. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Crede, and other officers of that party were taken prisoners with him. All the roads were full of soldiers hastening to join them. In a few days, they would have been formidable. And it was thought, that it might prove dangerous for Monk himself to have assembled any considerable body of his republican army for their suppression: So that nothing could be more happy than the sudden extinction of this rising flame.

CHAP. LXII.

1660. 25th April.

When the parliament met, they chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone speaker, a man, who, though he had for some time concurred with the late parliament, had long been esteemed affectionate to the king's service. The great dangers, incurred during preceding usurpations, joined to the extreme caution of the general, kept every one in awe; and none dared, for some days, to make any mention of the king. The members exerted their spirit chiefly in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwel, and in execrations against the inhuman murther of their late sovereign. At last, the general, having sufficiently 1st May. sounded their inclinations, gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them, that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons. The loudest acclamations were ex- The restoration. cited by this intelligence. Granville was called in: The letter, accompanied with a declaration, greedily read: Without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer: And in order to spread the same satisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

The people, freed from that state of suspence, in which they had so long been held, now changed their anxious hope for the unmixt effusions of joy; and displayed a social triumph and exultation, which no private prosperity, even the greatest, is ever able fully to inspire. Traditions remain of men, particularly of Oughtred, the mathematician, who died for pleasure, when informed of this happy and surprising event. The king's declaration was well calculated to uphold the satisfaction, inspired by the prospect of public settlement. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever; and that without any exceptions but such as should afterwards be made by par-

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

liament: It promiſed liberty of conſcience; and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, ſhould be offered, for inſuring that indulgence: The enquiry into all grants, purchaſes, and alienations, it ſubmitted to the arbitration of the ſame aſſembly: And it aſſured the ſoldiers of all their arrears, and promiſed them, for the future, the ſame pay, which they then enjoyed.

THE lords, perceiving the ſpirit, by which the kingdom as well as the commons was animated, haſtened to re-inſtate themſelves in their ancient authority, and to take their ſhare in the ſettlement of the nation. They found the doors of their houſe open; and all were admitted, even ſuch as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

THE two houſes attended; while the king was pro-

8th May. claimed with great ſolemnity, in Palace-Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-Bar. The commons voted 500 pounds to buy a jewel for Granville, who had brought them the king's gracious meſſages: A preſent of 50,000 pounds was conferred on the king, 10,000 pounds on the duke of York, 5000 pounds on the duke of Gloceſter. A committee of lords and commons was diſpatched to invite his majeſty to return and take poſſeſſion of the government. The rapidity, with which all theſe events were conducted, was marvellous, and diſcovered the paſſionate zeal and entire unanimity of the nation. Such an impatience appeared, and ſuch an emulation, in lords, and commons, and city, who ſhould make the moſt lively expreſſions of their joy and duty; that, as the noble hiſtorian expreſſes it, a man could not but wonder where thoſe people dwelt, who had done all the miſchief, and kept the king ſo many years from enjoying the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent ſubjects. The king himſelf ſaid, that it muſt ſurely have been his own fault,

that

that he had not ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne; ſince he found every body ſo zealous for promoting his happy reſtoration.

THE reſpect of foreign powers ſoon followed the ſubmiſſion of the king's ſubjects. Spain invited him to return to the Low Countries, and embark in ſome of her maritime towns. France made proteſtations of affection and regard, and offered Calais for the ſame purpoſe. The ſtates-general ſent deputies with a like friendly invitation. The king reſolved to accept of this laſt offer. The people of the republic bore him a cordial affection; and politics no longer reſtrained their magiſtrates from promoting and expreſſing that ſentiment. As he paſſed from Breda to the Hague, he was attended with numerous crowds, and was received with the loudeſt acclamations; as if themſelves, not their rivals in power and commerce, were now reſtored to peace and ſecurity. The ſtates-general in a body, and afterwards the ſtates of Holland apart, performed their compliments with the greateſt ſolemnity: Every perſon of diſtinction was ambitious of being introduced to his majeſty; all ambaſſadors and public miniſters of kings, princes, or ſtates, repaired to him, and profeſſed the joy of their maſters in his behalf: So that one would have thought, that, from the united efforts of Chriſtendom, had been derived this revolution, which diffuſed every where ſuch univerſal ſatisfaction.

THE Engliſh fleet came in ſight of Scheveling. Montague had not waited for orders from the parliament; but had perſuaded the officers, of themſelves, to tender their duty to his majeſty. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command of the fleet as high admiral.

WHEN the king diſembarked at Dover, he was met by the general, whom he cordially embraced. Never

ſubject

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

subject in fact, probably in his intentions, had deserved better of his king and country. In the space of a few months, without effusion of blood, by his cautious and disinterested conduct alone, he had bestowed settlement on three kingdoms, which had long been torne with the most violent convulsions: And having obstinately refused the most inviting conditions, offered him by the king as well as by every party in the kingdom, he freely restored his injured master to the vacant throne. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birth-day. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such joyful periods.

29th May.

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At this æra, it may be proper to stop a moment, and take a general survey of the age, so far as regards manners, finances, arms, commerce, arts and sciences. The chief use of history is, that it affords materials for disquisitions of this nature; and it seems the duty of an historian to point out the proper inferences and conclusions.

Manners and arts.

No people could undergo a change more sudden and entire in their manners than did the English nation during this period. From tranquillity, concord, submission, sobriety, they passed in an instant to a state of faction, fanaticism, rebellion, and almost frenzy. The violence of the English parties exceeded any thing, which we can now imagine: Had they continued but a little longer, there was just reason to dread all the horrors of the ancient massacres and proscriptions. The military usurpers, whose authority was founded on palpable injustice, and was supported by no national party, would have been impelled

by

by rage and deſpair into ſuch ſanguinary meaſures; and if theſe furious expedients had been embraced on one ſide, revenge would naturally have puſhed the other party, after a return of power, to retaliate upon their enemies. No ſocial intercourſe was maintained between the parties; no marriages or alliances contracted. The royaliſts, though oppreſſed, harraſſed, perſecuted, diſdained all affinity with their maſters. The more they were reduced to ſubjection, the greater ſuperiority did they affect above thoſe uſurpers, who by violence and injuſtice had acquired an aſcendant over them. CHAP. LXII. 1660.

THE manners of the two factions were as oppoſite as thoſe of the moſt diſtant nations. "Your friends, the "Cavaliers," ſaid a parliamentarian to a royaliſt, "are "very diſſolute and debauched." "True," replied the royaliſt, "they have the infirmities of men: But your "friends, the Roundheads, have the vices of devils, "tyranny, rebellion, and ſpiritual pride [d]." Riot and diſorder, it is certain, notwithſtanding the good example ſet them by Charles I. prevailed very much among his partizans. Being commonly men of birth and fortune, to whom exceſſes are leſs pernicious than to the vulgar, they were too apt to indulge themſelves in all pleaſures, particularly thoſe of the table. Oppoſition to the rigid preciſeneſs of their antagoniſts encreaſed their inclination to good-fellowſhip; and the character of a man of pleaſure was affected among them, as a ſure pledge of attachment to the church and monarchy. Even when ruined by confiſcations and ſequeſtrations, they endeavoured to maintain the appearance of a careleſs and ſocial jollity. "As much as hope is ſuperior to fear," ſaid a poor and merry cavalier, "ſo much is our ſituation preferable to "that of our enemies. We laugh while they tremble."

[d] Sir Philip Warwic.

THE

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

THE gloomy enthuſiaſm, which prevailed among the parliamentary party, is ſurely the moſt curious ſpectacle preſented by any hiſtory; and the moſt inſtructive, as well as entertaining, to a philoſophical mind. All recreations were in a manner ſuſpended by the rigid ſeverity of the preſbyterians and independents. Horſe-races and cock-matches were prohibited as the greateſt enormities [c]. Even bear-baiting was eſteemed heatheniſh and unchriſtian: The ſport of it, not the inhumanity, gave offence. Colonel Hewſon, from his pious zeal, marched with his regiment into London, and deſtroyed all the bears, which were there kept for the diverſion of the citizens. This adventure ſeems to have given birth to the fiction of Hudibras. Though the Engliſh nation be naturally candid and ſincere, hypocriſy prevailed among them beyond any example in ancient or modern times. The religious hypocriſy, it may be remarked, is of a peculiar nature; and being generally unknown to the perſon himſelf, though more dangerous, it implies leſs falſehood than any other ſpecies of inſincerity. The Old Teſtament, preferably to the New, was the favourite of all the ſectaries. The eaſtern poetical ſtyle of that compoſition made it more eaſily ſuſceptible of a turn, which was agreeable to them.

WE have had occaſion, in the courſe of this work, to ſpeak of many of the ſects, which prevailed in England: To enumerate them all would be impoſſible. The quakers, however, are ſo conſiderable, at leaſt ſo ſingular, as to merit ſome attention; and as they entirely renounced by principle the uſe of arms, they never made ſuch a figure in public tranſactions as to enter into any part of our narration.

THE religion of the quakers, like moſt others, began with the loweſt vulgar, and, in its progreſs, came at laſt to comprehend people of better quality and faſhion.

[c] Killing no Murder.

George

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancaſhire in 1624, was the founder of this ſect. He was the ſon of a weaver, and was himſelf bound apprentice to a ſhoe-maker. Feeling a ſtronger turn towards ſpiritual contemplations than towards that mechanical profeſſion, he left his maſter, and went about the country, cloathed in a leathern doublet, a dreſs which he long affected, as well for its ſingularity as its cheapneſs. That he might wean himſelf entirely from ſublunary objects, he broke off all connexions with his friends and family, and never dwelled a moment in one place; leſt habitude ſhould beget new connexions, and depreſs the ſublimity of his aerial meditations. He frequently wandered into the woods, and paſſed whole days in hollow trees, without company, or any other amuſement than his Bible. Having reached that pitch of perfection as to need no other book, he ſoon advanced to another ſtate of ſpiritual progreſs, and began to pay leſs regard even to that divine compoſition itſelf. His own breaſt, he imagined, was full of the ſame inſpiration, which had guided the prophets and apoſtles themſelves; and by this inward light muſt every ſpiritual obſcurity be cleared, by this living ſpirit muſt the dead letter be animated.

WHEN he had been ſufficiently conſecrated in his own imagination, he felt that the fumes of ſelf-applauſe ſoon diſſipate, if not continually ſupplied by the admiration of others; and he began to ſeek proſelytes. Proſelytes were eaſily gained, at a time when all men's affections were turned towards religion, and when the moſt extravagant modes of it were ſure to be moſt popular. All the forms of ceremony, invented by pride and oſtentation, Fox and his diſciples, from a ſuperior pride and oſtentation, carefully rejected: Even the ordinary rites of civility were ſhunned, as the nouriſhment of carnal vanity and ſelf-conceit. They would beſtow no titles of diſtinction: The

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

The name of *friend* was the only ſalutation, with which they indiſcriminately accoſted every one. To no perſon would they make a bow, or move their hat, or give any ſigns of reverence. Inſtead of that affected adulation, introduced into modern tongues, of ſpeaking to individuals as if they were a multitude, they returned to the ſimplicity of ancient languages; and *thou* and *thee* were the only expreſſions, which, on any conſideration, they could be brought to employ.

DRESS too, a material circumſtance, diſtinguiſhed the members of this ſect. Every ſuperfluity and ornament was carefully retrenched: No plaits to their coat, no buttons to their ſleeves: No lace, no ruffles, no embroidery. Even a button to the hat, though ſometimes uſeful, yet not being always ſo, was univerſally rejected by them with horror and deteſtation.

THE violent enthuſiaſm of this ſect, like all high paſſions, being too ſtrong for the weak nerves to ſuſtain, threw the preachers into convulſions, and ſhakings, and diſtortions in their limbs; and they thence received the denomination of *quakers*. Amidſt the great toleration, which was then granted to all ſects, and even encouragement given to all innovations, this ſect alone ſuffered perſecution. From the fervour of their zeal, the quakers broke into churches, diſturbed public worſhip, and harraſſed the miniſter and audience with railing and reproaches. When carried before a magiſtrate, they refuſed him all reverence, and treated him with the ſame familiarity as if he had been their equal. Sometimes they were thrown into mad-houſes, ſometimes into priſons: Sometimes whipped, ſometimes pilloryed. The patience and magnanimity, with which they ſuffered, begat compaſſion, admiration, eſteem [f]. A ſupernatural ſpirit was believed to

[f] The following ſtory is told by Whitlocke, p. 599. Some quakers at Haſington in Northumberland coming to the miniſter on the Sabbath-day, and

to ſupport them under thoſe ſufferings, which the ordinary ſtate of humanity, freed from the illuſions of paſſion, is unable to ſuſtain.

THE quakers creeped into the army: But as they preached univerſal peace, they ſeduced the military zealots from their profeſſion, and would ſoon, had they been ſuffered, have put an end, without any defeat or calamity, to the dominion of the ſaints. Theſe attempts became a freſh ground of perſecution, and a new reaſon for their progreſs among the people.

MORALS with this ſect were carried, or affected to be carried, to the ſame degree of extravagance as religion. Give a quaker a blow on one cheek, he held up the other: Aſk his cloke, he gave you his coat alſo: The greateſt intereſt could not engage him, in any court of judicature, to ſwear even to the truth: He never aſked more for his wares than the preciſe ſum, which he was determined to accept. This laſt maxim is laudable, and continues ſtill to be religiouſly obſerved by that ſect.

No fanatics ever carried farther the hatred to ceremonies, forms, orders, rites, and poſitive inſtitutions. Even baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, by all other ſects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of chriſtianity, were diſdainfully rejected by them. The very Sabbath they profaned. The holineſs of churches they derided; and would give to theſe ſacred edifices no other appellation than that of *ſhops* or *ſteeple-houſes*. No prieſts were admitted in their ſect: Every one had received from immediate illumination a character much ſuperior to the ſacerdotal. When they met for divine worſhip, each roſe up in his

and ſpeaking to him, the people fell upon the quakers, and almoſt killed one or two of them, who going out fell on their knees, and prayed God to pardon the people, who knew not what they did; and afterwards ſpeaking to the people, ſo convinced them of the evil they had done in beating them, that the country people fell a quarrelling, and beat one another more than they had before beaten the quakers.

place,

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

place, and delivered the extemporary inſpirations of the ſpirit: Women alſo were admitted to teach the brethren, and were conſidered as proper vehicles to convey the dictates of the Holy Ghoſt. Sometimes a great many preachers were moved to ſpeak at once: Sometimes a total ſilence prevailed in their congregations.

SOME quakers attempted to faſt forty days in imitation of Chriſt; and one of them bravely periſhed in the experiment [g]. A female quaker came naked into the church where the protector ſate; being moved by the ſpirit, as ſhe ſaid, to appear *as a ſign* to the people. A number of them fancied, that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that cloaths were to be rejected together with other ſuperfluities. The ſufferings, which followed the practice of this doctrine, were a ſpecies of perſecution not well calculated for promoting it.

JAMES NAYLOR was a quaker, noted for blaſphemy, or rather madneſs, in the time of the protectorſhip. He fancied, that he himſelf was transformed into Chriſt, and was become the real Saviour of the world; and in conſequence of this frenzy, he endeavoured to imitate many actions of the Meſſiah related in the evangeliſts. As he bore a reſemblance to the common pictures of Chriſt; he allowed his beard to grow in a like form: He raiſed a perſon from the dead [h]: He was miniſtered unto by women [i]: He entered Briſtol, mounted on a horſe: I ſuppoſe, from the difficulty in that place of finding an aſs: His diſciples ſpread their garments before him, and cried, "Hoſanna "to the higheſt; holy, holy is the Lord God of Sab-"baoth." When carried before the magiſtrate, he would give no other anſwer to all queſtions than "thou haſt

[g] Whitlocke, p. 624.

[h] Harleyan Miſcellany, vol. vi. p. 399. One Dorcas Earberry made oath before a magiſtrate, that ſhe had been dead two days, and that Naylor had brought her to life.

[i] Id. ibid.

"ſaid

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

"said it." What is remarkable, the parliament thought that the matter deserved their attention. Near ten days they spent in enquiries and debates about him [k]. They condemned him to be pilloryed, whipped, burned in the face, and to have his tongue bored through with a red hot iron. All these severities he bore with the usual patience. So far his delusion supported him. But the sequel spoiled all. He was sent to Bridewell, confined to hard labour, fed on bread and water, and debarred from all his disciples, male and female. His illusions dissipated; and after some time, he was contented to come out an ordinary man, and return to his usual occupations.

THE chief taxes in England, during the time of the commonwealth, were the monthly assessments, the excise, and the customs. The assessments were levied on personal estates as well as on land [l]; and commissioners were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The highest assessment amounted to 120,000 pounds a month in England; the lowest was 35,000. The assessments in Scotland were sometimes 10,000 pounds a month [m]; commonly 6000. Those on Ireland 9000. At a medium, this tax might have afforded about a million a year. The excise, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, flesh-meat, as well as beer, ale, strong-waters, and many other commodities. After the king was subdued, bread and flesh-meat were exempted from excise. The customs on exportation were lowered in 1656 [n]. In 1650, commissioners were appointed to levy both customs and excises. Cromwel in 1657 returned to the old practice of farming. Eleven hundred thousand pounds were then offered, both for customs and excise, a greater sum than had ever been levied by the commissioners [o]. The whole of the taxes during that period might at a medium amount

[k] Thurloe, vol. v. p. 708.
[l] Scobel, p. 479.
[m] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 476.
[n] Scobel, p. 376.
[o] Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 425.

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

to above two millions a year; a ſum, which, though moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former king [p]. Sequeſtrations, compoſitions, ſale of crown and church lands, and of the lands of delinquents, yielded alſo conſiderable ſums, but very difficult to be eſtimated. Church lands are ſaid to have been ſold for a million [q]. None of theſe were ever valued at above ten or eleven years purchaſe [r]. The eſtates of delinquents amounted to above 200,000 pounds a year [s]. Cromwel died more than two millions in debt [t]; though the parliament had left him in the treaſury above 500,000 pounds; and in ſtores, the value of 700,000 pounds [u].

THE committee of danger in April 1648 voted to raiſe the army to 40,000 men [w]. The ſame year, the pay of the army was eſtimated at 80,000 pounds a month [x]. The eſtabliſhment of the army in 1652, was in Scotland 15,000 foot, 2580 horſe, 560 dragoons; in England, 4700 foot, 2520 horſe, garriſons 6154. In all, 31,519, beſides officers [y]. The army in Scotland was afterwards conſiderably reduced. The army in Ireland was not much ſhort of 20,000 men; ſo that upon the whole, the commonwealth maintained in 1652 a ſtanding army of more than 50,000 men. Its pay amounted to a yearly ſum of 1,047,715 pounds [z]. Afterwards the protector reduced the eſtabliſhment to 30,000 men; as appears by the Inſtrument of Government and Humble Petition and Advice. His frequent enterprizes obliged him from time to time to augment them. Richard had on foot in England an army of 13,258 men, in Scotland 9506, in Ire-

[p] It appears that the late king's revenue from 1637, to the meeting of the long parliament, was only 900,000 pounds, of which 200,000 may be eſteemed illegal. [q] Dr. Walker, p. 14. [r] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 753.
[s] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 414. [t] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 667.
[u] World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwel. [w] Whitlocke, p. 298.
[x] Ibid. p. 378. [y] Journal, 2d December, 1652.
[z] Id. ibid.

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land about 10,000 men [a]. The foot soldiers had commonly a shilling a day [b]. The horse had two shillings and six-pence; so that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family inlisted in the protector's cavalry [c]. No wonder, that such men were averse from the re-establishment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they must be deprived of so gainful a profession.

About the time of the battle of Worcester, the parliament had on foot about 80,000 men, partly militia, partly regular forces. The vigour of the commonwealth, and the great capacity of those members, who had assumed the administration, never at any time appeared so conspicuous [d].

The whole revenue of the public during the protectorship of Richard was estimated at 1,868,717 pounds: His annual expences at 2,201,540 pounds. An additional revenue was demanded from the parliament [e].

The commerce and industry of England encreased extremely during the peaceable period of Charles's reign: The trade to the East-Indies and to Guinea became considerable. The English possessed almost the sole trade with Spain. Twenty thousand cloths were annually sent to Turkey [f]. Commerce met with interruption, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulsions, which afterwards prevailed; though it soon recovered after the establishment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by distressing the commerce of so formidable a rival, served to encourage trade in England: The Spanish war was in an equal degree pernicious. All the effects of the English merchants, to an immense value, were confiscated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles

[a] Journal, 6th of April, 1659. [b] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 395. vol. ii. p. 414. [c] Gumble's Life of Monk. [d] Whitlocke, p. 477. [e] Journal, 7th April, 1659. [f] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 421, 423, 430, 467.

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

engaged the country gentlemen to bind their ſons apprentices to merchants [g]; and commerce has ever ſince been more honourable in England than in any other European kingdom. The excluſive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expreſsly aboliſhed by any ordinance of parliament during the commonwealth; but as men payed no regard to the prerogative, whence the charters of theſe companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce encreaſed by the encreaſe of liberty. Intereſt in 1650 was reduced to ſix per cent.

THE cuſtoms in England, before the civil wars, are ſaid to have amounted to 500,000 pounds a year [h]: A ſum ten times greater than during the beſt period in queen Elizabeth's reign: But there is probably ſome exaggeration in this matter.

THE Poſt-houſe, in 1653, was farmed at 10,000 pounds a year, which was deemed a conſiderable ſum for the three kingdoms. Letters paid only about half the preſent poſtage.

FROM 1619 to 1638, there had been coined 6,900,042 pounds. From 1638 to 1657, the coinage amounted to 7,733,521 pounds [i]. Dr. Davenant has told us, from the regiſters of the Mint, that, between 1558 and 1659, there had been coined 19,832,476 pounds, in gold and ſilver.

THE firſt mention of tea, coffee, and chocolate, is about 1660 [k]. Aſparagus, artichoaks, colliflower, and a variety of ſallads, were about the ſame time introduced into England [l].

THE colony of New England encreaſed by means of the puritans, who fled thither, in order to free themſelves

[g] Clarendon. [h] Lewis Roberts's Treaſure of Traffick.
[i] Happy Future State of England. [k] Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 111.
[l] Id. ibid.

from

from the conſtraint, which Laud and the church party had impoſed upon them; and before the commencement of the civil wars, it is ſuppoſed to have contained 25,000 ſouls [m]. For a like reaſon, the catholics, afterwards, who found themſelves expoſed to many hardſhips, and dreaded ſtill worſe treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and ſettled the colony of Maryland.

BEFORE the civil wars, learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, and a good taſte began to prevail in the nation. The king loved pictures, ſometimes handled the pencil himſelf, and was a good judge of the art. The pieces of foreign maſters were bought up at a vaſt price; and the value of pictures doubled in Europe by the emulation between Charles and Philip IV. of Spain, who was touched with the ſame elegant paſſion. Vandyke was careſſed and enriched at court. Inigo Jones was maſter of the king's buildings; though afterwards perſecuted by the parliament on account of the part, which he had in rebuilding St. Paul's, and for obeying ſome orders of council, by which he was directed to pull down houſes, in order to make room for that fabric. Laws, who had not been ſurpaſſed by any muſician before him, was much beloved by the king, who called him the father of muſic. Charles was a good judge of writing, and was eſteemed by ſome more anxious with regard to purity of ſtyle than became a monarch [n]. Notwithſtanding his narrow revenue, and his freedom from all vanity, he lived in ſuch magnificence, that he poſſeſſed four and twenty palaces, all of them elegantly and compleatly furniſhed; inſomuch, that, when he removed from one to another, he was not obliged to tranſport any thing along with him.

CROMWEL, though himſelf a barbarian, was not inſenſible to literary merit. Uſher, notwithſtanding his being a biſhop, received a penſion from him. Marvel

[m] Britiſh Empire in America, vol. i. p. 372. [n] Burnet.

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

and Milton were in his ſervice. Waller, who was his relation, was careſſed by him. That poet always ſaid, that the Protector himſelf was not ſo wholly illiterate as was commonly imagined. He gave a hundred pounds a year to the divinity profeſſor at Oxford; and an hiſtorian mentions this bounty as an inſtance of his love of literature [o]. He intended to have erected a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties.

CIVIL wars, eſpecially when founded on principles of liberty, are not commonly unfavourable to the arts of eloquence and compoſition; or rather, by preſenting nobler and more intereſting objects, they amply compenſate for that tranquillity, of which they bereave the muſes. The ſpeeches of the parliamentary orators during this period are of a ſtrain much ſuperior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compaſs of our tongue were then firſt put to trial. It muſt however be confeſſed, that the wretched fanaticiſm, which ſo much infected the parliamentary party, was no leſs deſtructive of taſte and ſcience, than of all law and order. Gaiety and wit were proſcribed: Human learning deſpiſed: Freedom of enquiry deteſted: Cant and hypocriſy alone encouraged. It was an article poſitively inſiſted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Uxbridge, that all play-houſes ſhould for ever be aboliſhed. Sir John Davenant, ſays Whitlocke [p], ſpeaking of the year 1658, publiſhed an opera, notwithſtanding the nicety of the times. All the king's furniture was put to ſale: His pictures, diſpoſed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections in Europe: The cartoons, when complete, were only appraiſed at 300 pounds, though the whole collection of the king's curioſities were ſold at above 50,000 [q]. Even the royal palaces were pulled in pieces,

[o] Neale's Hiſtory of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 123. [p] P. 639.
[q] Parl. Hiſt. vol. xix. p. 83.

and

and the materials of them ſold. The very library and medals at St. James's, were intended by the generals to be brought to auction, in order to pay the arrears of ſome regiments of cavalry, quartered near London: But Selden, apprehenſive of this loſs, engaged his friend Whitlocke, then lord-keeper for the commonwealth, to apply for the office of librarian. This contrivance ſaved that valuable collection. CHAP. LXII. 1660.

It is however remarkable, that the greateſt genius by far, that ſhone out in England during this period, was deeply engaged with theſe fanatics, and even proſtituted his pen in theological controverſy, in factious diſputes, and in juſtifying the moſt violent meaſures of the party. This was John Milton, whoſe poems are admirable, though liable to ſome objections; his proſe writings diſagreeable, though not altogether defective in genius. Nor are all his poems equal: His Paradiſe Loſt, his Comus, and a few others ſhine out amidſt ſome flat and inſipid compoſitions: Even in the Paradiſe Loſt, his capital performance, there are very long paſſages, amounting to near a third of the work, almoſt wholly devoid of harmony and elegance, nay, of all vigour of imagination. This natural inequality in Milton's genius was much encreaſed by the inequalities in his ſubject; of which ſome parts are of themſelves the moſt lofty that can enter into human conception; others would have required the moſt laboured elegance of compoſition to ſupport them. It is certain, that this author, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble ſubject, is the moſt wonderfully ſublime of any poet in any language; Homer and Lucretius and Taſſo not excepted. More conciſe than Homer, more ſimple than Taſſo, more nervous than Lucretius; had he lived in a later age, and learned to poliſh ſome rudeneſs in his verſes; had he enjoyed better fortune, and poſſeſſed leiſure to watch the returns of genius in

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

himself; he had attained the pinnacle of human perfection, and borne away the palm of epic poetry.

It is well known, that Milton never enjoyed in his lifetime the reputation which he deserved. His Paradise Lost was long neglected: Prejudices against an apologist for the regicides, and against a work not wholly purged from the cant of former times, kept the ignorant world from perceiving the prodigious merit of that performance. Lord Somers, by encouraging a good edition of it, about twenty years after the author's death, first brought it into reputation; and Tonson, in his dedication of a smaller edition, speaks of it as a work just beginning to be known. Even during the prevalence of Milton's party, he seems never to have been much regarded; and Whitlocke [r] talks of one Milton, as he calls him, a blind man, who was employed in translating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. These forms of expression are amusing to posterity, who consider how obscure Whitlocke himself, though lord-keeper, and ambassador, and indeed a man of great ability and merit, has become in comparison of Milton.

It was not strange, that Milton received no encouragement after the restoration: It was more to be admired, that he escaped with his life. Many of the cavaliers blamed extremely that lenity towards him, which was so honourable in the king, and so advantageous to posterity. It is said, that he had saved Davenant's life during the protectorship; and Davenant in return afforded him like protection after the restoration; being sensible, that men of letters ought always to regard their sympathy of taste as a more powerful band of union, than any difference of party or opinion as a source of animosity. It was during a state of poverty, blindness, disgrace, danger, and old age, that Milton composed his wonderful poem, which not only surpassed all the performances of his co-

[r] P. 633.

temporaries,

temporaries, but all the compoſitions, which had flowed from his pen, during the vigor of his age, and the height of his proſperity. This circumſtance is not the leaſt remarkable of all thoſe which attend that great genius.

WALLER was the firſt refiner of Engliſh poetry, at leaſt of Engliſh rhyme; but his performances ſtill abound with many faults, and, what is more material, they contain but feeble and ſuperficial beauties. Gaiety, wit, and ingenuity are their ruling character: They aſpire not to the ſublime; ſtill leſs to the pathetic. They treat of love, without making us feel any tenderneſs; and abound in panegyric, without exciting admiration. The panegyric, however, on Cromwel contains more force than we ſhould expect from the other compoſitions of this poet.

WALLER was born to an ample fortune, was early introduced to the court, and lived in the beſt company. He poſſeſſed talents for eloquence as well as poetry; and till his death, which happened in a good old age, he was the delight of the houſe of commons. The errors of his life proceeded more from want of courage than of honour or integrity.

COWLEY is an author extremely corrupted by the bad taſte of his age; but had he lived even in the pureſt times of Greece or Rome, he muſt always have been a very indifferent poet. He had no ear for harmony; and his verſes are only known to be ſuch by the rhyme, which terminates them. In his rugged untuneable numbers are conveyed ſentiments the moſt ſtrained and violent; long ſpun allegories, diſtant alluſions, and forced conceits. Great ingenuity, however, and vigour of thought ſometimes break out amidſt thoſe unnatural conceptions: A few anacreontics ſurpriſe us by their eaſe and gaiety: His proſe writings pleaſe, by the honeſty and goodneſs which they expreſs, and even by their ſpleen and melancholy. This author was much more praiſed and admired during his

CHAP. LXII.

his life time, and celebrated after his death, than the great Milton.

1660. Sir John Denham in his Cooper's Hill (for none of his other poems merit attention) has a loftineſs and vigour, which had not before him been attained by any Engliſh poet, who wrote in rhyme. The mechanical difficulties of that meaſure retarded its improvement. Shakeſpeare, whoſe tragic ſcenes are ſometimes ſo wonderfully forcible and expreſſive, is a very indifferent poet, when he attempts to rhyme. Preciſion and neatneſs are chiefly wanting in Denham.

No Engliſh author in that age was more celebrated both abroad and at home than Hobbes: In our times, he is much neglected: A lively inſtance, how precarious all reputations, founded on reaſoning and philoſophy! A pleaſant comedy, which paints the manners of the age, and expoſes a faithful picture of nature, is a durable work, and is tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity. But a ſyſtem, whether phyſical or metaphyſical, owes commonly its ſucceſs to its novelty; and is no ſooner canvaſſed with impartiality than its weakneſs is diſcovered. Hobbes's politics are fitted only to promote tyranny, and his ethics to encourage licentiouſneſs. Though an enemy to religion, he partakes nothing of the ſpirit of ſcepticiſm; but is as poſitive and dogmatical as if human reaſon, and his reaſon in particular, could attain a thorough conviction in theſe ſubjects. Clearneſs and propriety of ſtyle are the chief excellencies of Hobbes's writings. In his own perſon he is repreſented to have been a man of virtue; a character no wiſe ſurpriſing, notwithſtanding his libertine ſyſtem of ethics. Timidity is the principal fault, with which he is reproached: He lived to an extreme old age, yet could never reconcile himſelf to the thoughts of death. The boldneſs of his opinions and ſentiments form a remarkable contraſt to this part of his character.

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CHAP. LXII. 1660.

HARRINGTON's Oceana was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary republics were the daily ſubjects of debate and converſation; and even in our time it is juſtly admired as a work of genius and invention. The idea, however, of a perfect and immortal commonwealth will always be found as chimerical as that of a perfect and immortal man. The ſtyle of this author wants eaſe and fluency; but the good matter, which his work contains, makes ample compenſation.

HARVEY is entitled to the glory of having made, by reaſoning alone, without any mixture of accident, a capital diſcovery in one of the moſt important branches of ſcience. He had alſo the happineſs of eſtabliſhing at once his theory on the moſt ſolid and convincing proofs; and poſterity has added little to the arguments ſuggeſted by his induſtry and ingenuity. His treatiſe of the circulation of the blood is farther embelliſhed by that warmth and ſpirit, which ſo naturally accompany the genius of invention. This great man was much favoured by Charles I. who gave him the liberty of uſing all the deer in the royal foreſts for perfecting his diſcoveries on the generation of animals.

THIS age affords great materials for hiſtory; but did not produce any accompliſhed hiſtorian. Clarendon, however, will always be eſteemed an entertaining author, even independant of our curioſity to know the facts, which he relates. His ſtyle is prolix and redundant, and ſuffocates us by the length of its periods: But it diſcovers imagination and ſentiment, and pleaſes us at the ſame time that we diſapprove of it. He is more partial in appearance than in reality: For he ſeems perpetually anxious to apologize for the king; but his apologies are often well grounded. He is leſs partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: He was too honeſt a man to falſify the former; his affections were eaſily capable,

unknown

CHAP. LXII. 1665.

unknown to himſelf, of diſguiſing the latter. An air of probity and goodneſs runs through the whole work; as theſe qualities did in reality embelliſh the whole life of the author.

THESE are the chief performances, which engage the attention of poſterity. Thoſe numberleſs productions, with which the preſs then abounded; the cant of the pulpit, the declamations of party, the ſubtilties of theology; all theſe have long ago ſunk into ſilence and oblivion. Even a writer, ſuch as Selden, whoſe learning was his chief excellency; or Chillingworth, an acute diſputant againſt the papiſts, will ſcarcely be ranked among the claſſics of our language or country.

CHARLES II.

CHAP. LXIII.

New miniſtry——Act of indemnity——Settlement of the revenue——Trial and execution of the regicides——Diſſolution of the convention——Parliament——Prelacy reſtored——Inſurrection of the Millenarians——Affairs of Scotland——Conference at the Savoy——Arguments for and againſt a comprehenſion——A new parliament——Biſhops' ſeats reſtored——Corporation act——Act of uniformity——King's marriage——Trial of Vane——And execution——Preſbyterian clergy ejected——Dunkirk ſold to the French——Declaration of indulgence——Decline of Clarendon's credit.

CHARLES II. when he aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, was thirty years of age. He poſſeſſed a vigorous conſtitution, a fine ſhape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harſh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. He was in that period of life, when there remains enough of youth to render the perſon amiable, without preventing that authority and regard, which attend the years of experience and maturity. Tenderneſs was excited by the memory of his recent adverſities. His preſent proſperity was the object rather of admiration than of envy. And as the ſudden and ſurpriſing revolution, which reſtored him

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

CHAP. LXIII.

1660.

him to his regal rights, had also restored the nation to peace, law, order, and liberty; no prince ever obtained a crown in more favourable circumstances, or was more blest with the cordial affection and attachment of his subjects.

THIS popularity, the king, by his whole demeanor and behaviour, was well qualified to support and to encrease. To a lively wit and quick comprehension, he united a just understanding and a general observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging gaiety accompanied his conversation and address. Accustomed during his exile to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that open affability, which was capable of reconciling the most determined republicans to his royal dignity. Totally devoid of resentment, as well from the natural lenity as carelessness of his temper, he insured pardon to the most guilty of his enemies, and left hopes of favour to his most violent opponents. From the whole tenor of his actions and discourse, he seemed desirous of losing the memory of past animosities, and of uniting every party in an affection for their prince and their native country.

New ministry.

INTO his council were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions: The presbyterians, equally with the royalists, shared this honour. Annesley was also created earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper lord Ashley; Denzil Hollis lord Hollis. The earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain, and lord Say privy seal. Calamy and Baxter, presbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king.

ADMIRAL MONTAGUE, created earl of Sandwich, was entitled from his recent services to great favour; and he obtained it. Monk, created duke of Albemarle, had performed such signal services, that, according to a vulgar

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CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

and malignant obſervation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude: Yet was he ever treated by the king with great marks of diſtinction. Charles's diſpoſition, free from jealouſy; and the prudent behaviour of the general, who never over-rated his merits; prevented all thoſe diſguſts, which naturally ariſe in ſo delicate a ſituation. The capacity too of Albemarle was not extenſive, nor were his parts ſhining. Though he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in inferior ſtations, he was found, upon familiar acquaintance, not to be wholly equal to thoſe great atchievements, which fortune had enabled him to perform; and he appeared unfit for the court, a ſcene of life to which he had never been accuſtomed. Morrice, his friend, was created ſecretary of ſtate, and was ſupported more by his patron's credit than by his own ability or experience.

But the choice, which the king at firſt made of his principal miniſters and favourites, was the circumſtance, which chiefly gave contentment to the nation, and prognoſticated future happineſs and tranquillity. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime miniſter: The marqueſs, created duke of Ormond, was ſteward of the houſehold: The earl of Southampton, high treaſurer: Sir Edward Nicholas, ſecretary of ſtate. Theſe men, united together in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, and combining in the ſame laudable inclinations, ſupported each others credit, and purſued the intereſts of the public.

Agreeable to the preſent proſperity of public affairs was the univerſal joy and feſtivity diffuſed throughout the nation. The melancholy auſterity of the fanatics fell into diſcredit together with their principles. The royaliſts, who had ever affected a contrary diſpoſition, found in their recent ſucceſs new motives for mirth and gaiety; and it now belonged to them to give repute and faſhion

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

to their manners. From paſt experience it had ſufficiently appeared, that gravity was very diſtinct from wiſdom, formality from virtue, and hypocriſy from religion. The king himſelf, who bore a ſtrong propenſity to pleaſure and ſociety, ſerved, by his powerful and engaging example, to baniſh thoſe ſour and malignant humours, which had hitherto engendered ſuch confuſion. And though the juſt bounds were undoubtedly paſſed, when men returned from their former extreme; yet was the public happy in exchanging vices, pernicious to ſociety, for diſorders, hurtful chiefly to the individuals themſelves, who were guilty of them.

It required ſome time before the ſeveral parts of the ſtate, disfigured by war and faction, could recover their former arrangement: But the parliament immediately entered into good correſpondence with the king; and they treated him with the ſame dutiful regard, which had uſually been payed to his predeceſſors. Being ſummoned without the king's conſent, they received, at firſt, only the title of a convention; and it was not till the king paſſed an act for that purpoſe, that they were called by the appellation of parliament. All judicial proceedings, tranſacted in the name of the commonwealth or protector, were ratified by a new law. And both houſes, acknowledging the guilt of the former rebellion, gratefully received, in their own name and in that of all the ſubjects, his majeſty's gracious pardon and indemnity.

Act of indemnity.

The king, before his reſtoration, being afraid of reducing any of his enemies to deſpair, and at the ſame time unwilling that ſuch enormous crimes as had been committed, ſhould receive a total impunity, had expreſſed himſelf very cautiouſly in his declaration of Breda, and had promiſed an indemnity to all criminals, but ſuch as ſhould be excepted by parliament. He now iſſued a proclamation, declaring that ſuch of the late king's judges

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as did not yield themſelves priſoners within fourteen days ſhould receive no pardon. Nineteen ſurrendered themſelves: Some were taken in their flight: Others eſcaped beyond ſea. CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

THE commons ſeem to have been more inclined to lenity than the lords. The upper houſe, inflamed with the ill uſage, which they had received, were reſolved, beſides the late king's judges, to except every one, who had ſat in any high court of juſtice. Nay, the earl of Briſtol moved, that no pardon might be granted to thoſe who had any wiſe contributed to the king's death. So wide an exception, in which every one, who had ſerved the parliament, might be comprehended, gave a general alarm; and men began to apprehend, that this motion was the effect of ſome court artifice or intrigue. But the king ſoon diſſipated theſe fears. He came to the houſe of peers; and in the moſt earneſt terms, preſſed the act of general indemnity. He urged both the neceſſity of the thing, and the obligation of his former promiſe: A promiſe, he ſaid, which he would ever regard as ſacred; ſince to it he probably owed the ſatisfaction, which at preſent he enjoyed, of meeting his people in parliament. This meaſure of the king was received with great applauſe and ſatisfaction.

AFTER repeated ſolicitations, the act of indemnity paſſed both houſes, and ſoon received the royal aſſent. Thoſe who had an immediate hand in the late king's death, were there excepted: Even Cromwel, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and others now dead were attainted, and their eſtates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though none of the regicides, were alſo excepted. St. John and ſeventeen perſons more were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had ſat in any illegal high court of juſtice were diſabled from

CHAP. LXIII.

bearing offices. These were all the severities, which followed such furious civil wars and convulsions.

1660. Settlement of the revenue.

THE next business was the settlement of the king's revenue. In this work, the parliament had regard to public freedom as well as to the support of the crown. The tenures of wards and liveries had long been regarded as a grievous burthen by the nobility and gentry: Several attempts had been made during the reign of James to purchase this prerogative, together with that of purveyance; and 200,000 pounds a year had been offered that prince in lieu of them: Wardships and purveyance had been utterly abolished by the republican parliament: And even in the present parliament, before the king arrived in England, a bill had been introduced, offering him a compensation for these revenues. A hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum agreed to; and half of the excise was settled in perpetuity upon the crown as the fund whence this revenue should be levied. Though that impost yielded more profit, the bargain might be esteemed hard; and it was chiefly the necessity of the king's situation, which induced him to consent to it. No request of the parliament, during the present joy, could be refused them.

TONNAGE and poundage and the other half of the excise were granted to the king during life. The parliament even proceeded so far as to vote that the settled revenue of the crown for all charges should be 1,200,000 pounds a year; a sum larger than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed. But as all the princes of Europe were perpetually augmenting their military force, and consequently their expence, it became requisite that England, from motives both of honour and security, should bear some proportion to them, and adapt its revenue to the new system of politics, which prevailed.

According

According to the chancellor's computation, a charge of 800,000 pounds a year, was at preſent requiſite for the fleet and other articles, which formerly coſt the crown but eighty thouſand. CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

HAD the parliament, before reſtoring the king, inſiſted on any farther limitations than thoſe which the conſtitution already impoſed; beſides the danger of reviving former quarrels among parties; it would ſeem, that their precaution had been entirely ſuperfluous. By reaſon of its ſlender and precarious revenue, the crown in effect was ſtill totally dependant. Not a fourth part of this ſum, which ſeemed requiſite for public expences, could be levied without conſent of parliament; and any conceſſions, had they been thought neceſſary, might, even after the reſtoration, be extorted by the commons from their neceſſitous prince. This parliament ſhowed no intention of employing at preſent that engine to any ſuch purpoſes; but they ſeemed ſtill determined not to part with it entirely, or to render the revenues of the crown fixed and independent. Tho' they voted in general, that 1200,000 pounds a year ſhould be ſettled on the king, they ſcarcely aſſigned any funds, which could yield two thirds of that ſum. And they left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future conſideration of parliament.

IN all the temporary ſupplies, which they voted, they diſcovered the ſame cautious frugality. To diſband the army, ſo formidable in itſelf, and ſo much accuſtomed to rebellion and changes of government, was neceſſary for the ſecurity both of king and parliament; yet the commons ſhowed great jealouſy in granting the ſums, requiſite for that purpoſe. An aſſeſſment of 70,000 pounds a month was impoſed; but it was at firſt voted, to continue only three months: And all the other ſums, which, they levied for that uſe, by a poll-bill and new aſſeſſments, were ſtill granted by parcels; as if they were not, as yet,

CHAP. LXIII.

1660. 13th Sept.

well assured of the fidelity of that hand, to which the money was entrusted. Having proceeded so far in the settlement of the nation, the parliament adjourned itself for some time.

Trial and execution of the regicides.

DURING the recess of parliament, the object, which chiefly interested the public, was the trial and condemnation of the regicides. The general indignation, attending the enormous crime, of which these men had been guilty, made their sufferings the subject of joy to the people: But in the peculiar circumstances of that action, in the prejudices of the times, as well as in the behaviour of the criminals, a mind, seasoned with humanity, will find a plentiful source of compassion and indulgence. Can any one, without the utmost concern for human blindness and ignorance, consider the demeanor of general Harrison, who was first brought to his trial? With great courage and elevation of sentiment, he told the court, that the pretended crime, of which he stood accused, was not a deed, performed in a corner: The sound of it had gone forth to most nations; and in the singular and marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appeared the sovereign power of heaven. That he himself, agitated by doubts, had often, with passionate tears, offered up his addresses to the divine Majesty, and earnestly sought for light and conviction: He had still received assurance of a heavenly sanction, and returned from these devout supplications with more serene tranquillity and satisfaction. That all the nations of the earth were, in the eyes of their Creator, less than a drop of water in the bucket; nor were their erroneous judgments aught but darkness compared with divine illuminations. That these frequent illapses of the divine spirit he could not suspect to be interested illusions; since he was conscious, that, for no temporal advantage, would he offer injury to the poorest man or woman that trod upon the earth. That all the allurements of ambition,

tion, all the terrors of impriſonment, had not been able, during the uſurpation of Cromwel, to ſhake his ſteddy reſolution, or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant. And that when invited by him to ſit on the right hand of the throne, when offered riches and ſplendor and dominion, he had diſdainfully rejected all temptations; and neglecting the tears of his friends and family, had ſtill, through every danger, held faſt his principles and his integrity.

SCOT, who was more a republican than a fanatic, had ſaid in the houſe of commons, a little before the reſtoration, that he deſired no other epitaph to be inſcribed on his tomb-ſtone than this; *Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged the king to death.* He ſupported the ſame ſpirit upon his trial.

CAREW, a Millenarian, ſubmitted to his trial, *ſaving to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt his right to the government of theſe kingdoms.* Some ſcrupled to ſay, according to form, that they would be tried by God and their country; becauſe God was not viſibly preſent to judge them. Others ſaid, that they would be tried by the word of God.

No more than ſix of the late king's judges, Harriſon, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope, were executed: Scrope alone, of all thoſe who came in upon the king's proclamation. He was a gentleman of good family and of a decent character: But it was proved, that he had a little before, in converſation, expreſſed himſelf as if he were no wiſe convinced of any guilt in condemning the king. Axtel, who had guarded the high court of juſtice, Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution, Coke, the ſolicitor for the people of England, and Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher, who inflamed the army and impelled them to regicide: All theſe were tried, and condemned, and ſuffered with the king's judges. No ſaint or confeſſor ever went to martyrdom with more

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

assured confidence of heaven than was expressed by those criminals, even when the terrors of immediate death, joined to many indignities, were set before them. The rest of the king's judges, by an unexampled lenity, were reprieved; and they were dispersed into several prisons.

13th Sept.

THIS punishment of declared enemies no wise interrupted the rejoicings of the court: But the death of the duke of Gloceſter, a young prince of promising hopes, threw a great cloud upon them. The king, by no incident in his life, was ever so deeply affected. Gloceſter was observed to possess united the good qualities of both his brothers: The clear judgment and penetration of the king; the industry and application of the duke of York. He was also believed to be affectionate to the religion and constitution of his country. He was but twenty years of age, when the small pox put an end to his life.

THE princeſs of Orange, having come to England, in order to partake of the joy, attending the restoration of her family, with whom she lived in great friendship, soon after sickened and died. The queen-mother payed a visit to her son; and obtained his consent to the marriage of the princeſs Henrietta, with the duke of Orleans, brother to the French king.

6th Nov.

AFTER a receſs of near two months, the parliament met, and proceeded in the great work of the national settlement. They established the post-office, wine-licences, and some articles of the revenue. They granted more assessments, and some arrears for paying and disbanding the army. Business, being carried on with great unanimity, was soon dispatched: And after they had sat near two months, the king, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them.

Dissolution of the convention parliament. 29th Dec.

THIS house of commons had been chosen during the reign of the old parliamentary party; and though many royalists

royaliſts had creeped in amongſt them, yet did it chiefly conſiſt of preſbyterians, who had not yet entirely laid aſide their old jealouſies and principles. Lenthal, a member, having ſaid, that thoſe who firſt took arms againſt the king, were as guilty as thoſe, who afterwards brought him to the ſcaffold, was ſeverely reprimanded by order of the houſe; and the moſt violent efforts of the long parliament, to ſecure the conſtitution, and bring delinquents to juſtice, were in effect vindicated and applauded [s]. The claim of the two houſes to the militia, the firſt ground of the quarrel, however exorbitant an uſurpation, was never expreſsly reſigned by this parliament. They made all grants of money with a very ſparing hand. Great arrears being due by the late protector, to the fleet, the army, the navy-office, and every branch of ſervice; this whole debt they threw upon the crown, without eſtabliſhing funds ſufficient for its payment. Yet notwithſtanding this jealous care expreſſed by the parliament, there prevails a ſtory, that Popham, having ſounded the diſpoſition of the members, undertook to the earl of Southampton to procure, during the king's life, a grant of two millions a year, land tax; a ſum, which, added to the cuſtoms and exciſe, would for ever have rendered this prince independant of his people. Southampton, it is ſaid, merely from his affection to the king, had unwarily embraced the offer; and it was not till he communicated the matter to the chancellor, that he was made ſenſible of its pernicious tendency. It is not improbable, that ſuch an offer might have been made, and been hearkened to; but it is no wiſe probable, that all the intereſt of the court would ever, with this houſe of commons, have been able to make it effectual. Clarendon ſhowed his prudence, no leſs than his integrity, in entirely rejecting it.

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

[s] Journals, vol. viii. p. 24.

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

THE chancellor, from the ſame principles of conduct, haſtened to diſband the army. When the king reviewed theſe veteran troops, he was ſtruck with their beauty, order, diſcipline, and martial appearance; and being ſenſible, that regular forces are moſt neceſſary implements of royalty, he expreſſed a deſire of finding expedients ſtill to retain them. But his wiſe miniſter ſet before him the dangerous ſpirit by which theſe troops were actuated, their enthuſiaſtic genius, their habits of rebellion and mutiny; and he convinced the king, that till they were diſbanded, he never could eſteem himſelf ſecurely eſtabliſhed on his throne. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garriſons, about 1000 horſe, and 4000 foot. This was the firſt appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular ſtanding army in this iſland. Lord Mordaunt ſaid, that the king, being poſſeſſed of that force, might now look upon himſelf as the moſt conſiderable gentleman in England[t]. The fortifications of Gloceſter, Taunton, and other towns, which had made reſiſtance to the king during the civil wars, were demoliſhed.

CLARENDON not only behaved with wiſdom and juſtice in the office of chancellor: All the counſels, which he gave the king, tended equally to promote the intereſt of prince and people. Charles, accuſtomed in his exile to pay entire deference to the judgment of that faithful ſervant, continued ſtill to ſubmit to his direction; and for ſome time no miniſter was ever poſſeſſed of more abſolute authority. He moderated the forward zeal of the royaliſts, and tempered their appetite for revenge. With the oppoſite party, he endeavoured to preſerve inviolate all the king's engagements: He kept an exact regiſter of

[t] King James's Memoirs. This prince ſays, that Venner's inſurrection furniſhed a reaſon or pretence for keeping up the guards, which were intended at firſt to have been broken with the reſt of the army.

promiſes

promiſes which had been made for any ſervice, and he employed all his induſtry to fulfil them. This good miniſter was now nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Ann Hyde, a woman of ſpirit and fine accompliſhments, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addreſſes of the duke of York, and under promiſe of marriage, had ſecretly admitted him to her bed. Her pregnancy appeared ſoon after the reſtoration; and though many endeavoured to diſſuade the king from conſenting to ſo unequal an alliance, Charles, in pity to his friend and miniſter, who had been ignorant of theſe engagements, permitted his brother to marry her [u]. Clarendon expreſſed great uneaſineſs, at the honour, which he had obtained; and ſaid, that, by being elevated ſo much above his rank, he thence dreaded a more ſudden downfal.

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

Most circumſtances of Clarendon's adminiſtration have met with applauſe: His maxims alone in the conduct of eccleſiaſtical politics have by many been deemed the effect of prejudices, narrow and bigotted. Had the jealouſy of royal power prevailed ſo far with the convention parliament as to make them reſtore the king with ſtrict limitations, there is no queſtion but the eſtabliſhment of preſbyterian diſcipline had been one of the conditions moſt rigidly inſiſted on. Not only that form of eccleſiaſtical government is more favourable to liberty than to royal power: It was likewiſe, on its own account, agreeable to the majority of the houſe of commons, and ſuited their religious principles. But as the impatience of the people, the danger of delay, the general diſguſt towards faction, and the authority of Monk had prevailed over that jealous project of limitations, the full ſettlement of the hierarchy, together with the monarchy, was a neceſſary and infallible conſequence. All the royaliſts were zealous for that mode of religion; the

Prelacy reſtored.

[u] King James's Memoirs.

CHAP. LXIII.

1660.

merits of the epiſcopal clergy towards the king, as well as their ſufferings on that account, had been great; the laws, which eſtabliſhed biſhops and the liturgy, were as yet unrepealed by legal authority; and any attempt of the parliament, by new acts, to give the ſuperiority to preſbyterianiſm, had been ſufficient to involve the nation again in blood and confuſion. Moved by theſe views, the commons had wiſely poſtponed the examination of all religious controverſy, and had left entirely the ſettlement of the church to the king and to the ancient laws.

THE king at firſt uſed great moderation in the execution of the laws. Nine biſhops ſtill remained alive; and theſe were immediately reſtored to their ſees: All the ejected clergy recovered their livings: The liturgy, a form of worſhip decent, and not without beauty, was again admitted into the churches: But at the ſame time, a declaration was iſſued, in order to give contentment to the preſbyterians, and preſerve an air of moderation and neutrality [w]. In this declaration, the king promiſed, that he would provide ſuffragan biſhops for the larger dioceſes; that the prelates ſhould, all of them, be regular and conſtant preachers; that they ſhould not confer ordination, or exerciſe any juriſdiction, without the advice and aſſiſtance of preſbyters, choſen by the dioceſe; that ſuch alterations ſhould be made in the liturgy, as would render it totally unexceptionable; that in the mean time, the uſe of that mode of worſhip ſhould not be impoſed on ſuch as were unwilling to receive it; and that the ſurplice, the croſs in baptiſm, and bowing at the name of Jeſus ſhould not be rigidly inſiſted on. This declaration was iſſued by the king as head of the church; and he plainly aſſumed, in many parts of it, a legiſlative authority in eccleſiaſtical matters. But the Engliſh government, though more exactly defined by

[w] Parl. Hiſt. vol. xxiii. p. 173.

late

late conteſts, was not, as yet, reduced, in every particular, to the ſtrict limits of law. And if ever prerogative was juſtifiably employed, it ſeemed to be on the preſent occaſion; when all parts of the ſtate were torne with paſt convulſions, and required the moderating hand of the chief magiſtrate, to reduce them to their ancient order. CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

BUT though theſe appearances of neutrality were maintained, and a mitigated epiſcopacy only ſeemed to be inſiſted on, it was far from the intention of the miniſtry always to preſerve like regard to the preſbyterians. The madneſs of the fifth-monarchy-men afforded them a pretence for departing from it. Venner, a deſperate enthuſiaſt, who had often conſpired againſt Cromwel, having, by his zealous lectures, inflamed his own imagination and that of his followers, iſſued forth at their head into the ſtreets of London. They were to the number of ſixty, compleatly armed, believed themſelves invulnerable and invincible, and firmly expected the ſame ſucceſs, which had attended Gideon and other heroes of the Old Teſtament. Every one at firſt fled before them. One unhappy man, who, being queſtioned, ſaid, "He was for God and king Charles," was inſtantly murdered by them. They went triumphantly from ſtreet to ſtreet, every where proclaiming king Jeſus, who, they ſaid, was their inviſible leader. At length, the magiſtrates, having aſſembled ſome train-bands, made an attack upon them. They defended themſelves with order as well as valour; and after killing many of the aſſailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane-Wood near Hampſtead. Next morning, they were chaſed thence by a detachment of the guards; but they ventured again to invade the city, which was not prepared to receive them. After committing great diſorder, and traverſing almoſt every ſtreet of that immenſe capital, they retired into a houſe, which they were reſolute to defend to the laſt extremity. Inſurrection of the Millenarians.

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

extremity. Being ſurrounded, and the houſe untiled, they were fired upon from every ſide; and they ſtill refuſed quarter. The people ruſhed in upon them, and ſeized the few who were alive. Theſe were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the laſt they perſiſted in affirming, that, if they were deceived, it was the Lord that had deceived them.

CLARENDON and the miniſtry took occaſion from this inſurrection to infer the dangerous ſpirit of the preſbyterians and of all the ſectaries: But the madneſs of the attempt ſufficiently proved, that it had been undertaken by no concert, and never could have proved dangerous The well known hatred too, which prevailed between the preſbyterians and the other ſects, ſhould have removed the former from all ſuſpicion of any concurrence in the enterprize. But as a pretence was wanted, beſides their old demerits, for juſtifying the intended rigours againſt all of them, this reaſon, however ſlight, was greedily laid hold of.

Affairs of Scotland.

AFFAIRS in Scotland haſtened with ſtill quicker ſteps than thoſe in England towards a ſettlement and a compliance with the king. It was deliberated in the Engliſh council, whether that nation ſhould be reſtored to its liberty, or whether the forts, erected by Cromwel, ſhould not ſtill be upheld, in order to curb the mutinous ſpirit, by which the Scots in all ages had been ſo much governed. Lauderdale, who, from the battle of Worceſter to the reſtoration, had been detained priſoner in the Tower, had conſiderable influence with the king; and he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this violent meaſure. He repreſented, that it was the loyalty of the Scottiſh nation, which had engaged them in oppoſition to the Engliſh rebels; and that to take advantage of the calamities, into which, on that account, they had fallen, would be regarded as the higheſt injuſtice and ingratitude: That the ſpirit of that people

people was now fully ſubdued by the ſervitude, under which the uſurpers had ſo long detained them, and would of itſelf yield to any reaſonable compliance with their legal ſovereign, if, by his means, they recovered their liberty and independence: That the attachment of the Scots towards their king, whom they regarded as their native prince, was naturally much ſtronger than that of the Engliſh; and would afford him a ſure reſource, in caſe of any rebellion among the latter: That republican principles had long been, and ſtill were, very prevalent with his ſouthern ſubjects, and might again menace the throne with new tumults and reſiſtance. That the time would probably come, when the king, inſtead of deſiring to ſee Engliſh garriſons in Scotland, would be better pleaſed to have Scotch garriſons in England, who, ſupported by Engliſh pay, would be fond to curb the ſeditious genius of that opulent nation: And that a people, ſuch as the Scots, governed by a few nobility, would more eaſily be reduced to ſubmiſſion under monarchy, that one, like the Engliſh, who breathed nothing but the ſpirit of democratical equality. CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

THESE views induced the king to diſband all the forces in Scotland, and to raze all the forts, which had been erected. General Middleton, created earl of that name, was ſent commiſſioner to the parliament, which was ſummoned. A very compliant ſpirit was there diſcovered in all orders of men. The commiſſioner had even ſufficient influence to obtain an act, annulling, at once, all laws, which had paſſed ſince the year 1633; on pretext of the violence, which, during that time, had been employed againſt the king and his father, in order to procure their aſſent to theſe ſtatutes. This was a very large, if not an unexampled conceſſion; and, together with many dangerous limitations, overthrew ſome uſeful barriers, which had been 1661. 1ſt Jan.

CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

been erected to the conſtitution. But the tide was now running ſtrongly towards monarchy; and the Scottiſh nation plainly diſcovered, that their paſt reſiſtance had proceeded more from the turbulency of their ariſtocracy and the bigotry of their eccleſiaſtics than from any fixed paſſion towards civil liberty. The lords of articles were reſtored, with ſome other branches of prerogative; and royal authority, fortified with more plauſible claims and pretences, was, in its full extent, re-eſtabliſhed in that kingdom.

THE prelacy likewiſe, by the abrogating of every ſtatute, enacted in favour of preſbytery, was thereby tacitly reſtored; and the king deliberated what uſe he ſhould make of this conceſſion. Lauderdale, who at bottom was a paſſionate zealot againſt epiſcopacy, endeavoured to perſuade him, that the Scots, if gratified in this favourite point of eccleſiaſtical government, would, in every other demand, be entirely compliant with the king. Charles, though he had no ſuch attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had ſuffered ſuch indignities from the Scotch preſbyterians, that he ever after bore them a hearty averſion. He ſaid to Lauderdale, that preſbyterianiſm, he thought, was not a religion for a gentleman; and he could not conſent to its farther continuance in Scotland. Middleton too and his other miniſters perſuaded him, that the nation in general was ſo diſguſted with the violence and tyranny of the eccleſiaſtics, that any alteration of church government would be univerſally grateful. And Clarendon, as well as Ormond, dreading that the preſbyterian ſect, if legally eſtabliſhed in Scotland, would acquire authority in England and Ireland, ſeconded the application of theſe miniſters. The reſolution was therefore taken to reſtore prelacy; a meaſure afterwards attended with many and great inconveniencies: But whether in this reſolution

Charles

CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

Charles chose not the lesser evil, it is very difficult to determine. Sharpe, who had been commissioned by the presbyterians in Scotland to manage their interests with the king, was persuaded to abandon that party; and as a reward for his compliance, was created archbishop of St. Andrew's. The conduct of ecclesiastical affairs was chiefly entrusted to him; and as he was esteemed a traitor and a renegade by his old friends, he became on that account, as well as from the violence of his conduct, extremely obnoxious to them.

CHARLES had not promised to Scotland any such indemnity as he had ensured to England by the declaration of Breda: And it was deemed more political for him to hold over men's heads, for some time, the terror of punishment; till they should have made the requisite compliances with the new government. Though neither the king's temper nor plan of administration led him to severity; some examples, after such a bloody and triumphant rebellion, seemed necessary; and the marquess of Argyle and one Guthry, were pitched on as the victims. Two acts of indemnity, one passed by the late king in 1641, another by the present in 1651, formed, it was thought, invincible obstacles to the punishment of Argyle; and barred all enquiry into that part of his conduct, which might justly be regarded as the most exceptionable. Nothing remained but to try him for his compliance with the usurpation; a crime common to him with the whole nation, and such a one as the most loyal and affectionate subject might frequently by violence be obliged to commit. To make this compliance appear the more voluntary and hearty, there were produced in court letters, which he had written to Albemarle, while that general governed Scotland, and which contained expressions of the most cordial attachment to the established government. But besides the general indignation, excited by Albemarle's discovery

CHAP. LXIII.

1661.

discovery of this private correspondence; men thought, that even the highest demonstrations of affection might, during jealous times, be exacted as a necessary mark of compliance from a person of such distinction as Argyle, and could not, by any equitable construction, imply the crime of treason. The parliament, however, scrupled not to pass sentence upon him; and he died with great constancy and courage. As he was universally known to have been the chief instrument of past disorders and civil wars, the irregularity of his sentence, and several iniquitous circumstances in the method of conducting his trial, seemed on that account to admit of some apology. Lord Lorne, son of Argyle, having ever preserved his loyalty, obtained a gift of the forfeiture. Guthry was a seditious preacher, and had personally affronted the king: His punishment gave surprize to no body. Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston was attainted and fled; but was seized in France about two years after, brought over, and executed. He had been very active, during all the late disorders; and was even suspected of a secret combination with the English regicides.

Besides these instances of compliance in the Scottish parliament, they voted an additional revenue to the king of 40,000 pounds a year, to be levied by way of excise. A small force was proposed to be maintained by this revenue, in order to prevent like confusions with those to which the kingdom had been hitherto exposed. An act was also passed, declaring the covenant unlawful, and its obligation void and null.

In England, the civil distinctions seemed to be abolished by the lenity and equality of Charles's administration. Cavalier and Round-head were heard of no more: All men seemed to concur in submitting to the king's lawful prerogatives, and in cherishing the just privileges of the people and of parliament. Theological controversy alone

alone ſtill ſubſiſted, and kept alive ſome ſparks of that flame, which had thrown the nation into combuſtion. While catholics, independents, and other ſectaries were content with entertaining ſome proſpect of toleration; prelacy and preſbytery ſtruggled for the ſuperiority, and the hopes and fears of both parties kept them in agitation. A conference was held in the Savoy between twelve biſhops and twelve leaders among the preſbyterian miniſters, with an intention, or at leaſt on pretence, of bringing about an accommodation between the parties. The ſurplice, the croſs in baptiſm, the kneeling at the ſacrament, the bowing at the name of Jeſus, were anew canvaſſed; and the ignorant multitude were in hopes, that ſo many men of gravity and learning could not fail, after deliberate argumentation, to agree in all points of controverſy: They were ſurprized to ſee them ſeparate more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their ſeveral prejudices. To enter into particulars would be ſuperfluous. Diſputes concerning religious forms are, in themſelves, the moſt frivolous of any; and merit attention only ſo far as they have influence on the peace and order of civil ſociety.

CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

Conference at the Savoy. 25th March.

THE king's declaration had promiſed, that ſome endeavours ſhould be uſed to effect a comprehenſion of both parties; and Charles's own indifference with regard to all ſuch queſtions ſeemed a favourable circumſtance for the execution of that project. The partizans of a comprehenſion ſaid, that the preſbyterians, as well as the prelatiſts, having felt by experience the fatal effects of obſtinacy and violence, were now well diſpoſed towards an amicable agreement: That the biſhops, by relinquiſhing ſome part of their authority, and diſpenſing with the moſt exceptionable ceremonies, would ſo gratify their adverſaries as to obtain their cordial and affectionate compliance, and unite the whole nation in one faith and one

Arguments for and againſt a comprehenſion.

CHAP. LXIII.

1661.

worſhip: That by obſtinately inſiſting on forms, in themſelves inſignificant, an air of importance was beſtowed on them, and men were taught to continue equally obſtinate in rejecting them: That the preſbyterian clergy would go every reaſonable length, rather than, by parting with their livings, expoſe themſelves to a ſtate of beggary, or at beſt of dependance: And that if their pride were flattered by ſome ſeeming alterations, and a pretence given them for affirming, that they had not abandoned their former principles, nothing farther was wanting to produce a thorough union between thoſe two parties, which comprehended the bulk of the nation.

It was alledged on the other hand, that the difference between religious ſects was founded, not on principle, but on paſſion; and till the irregular affections of men could be corrected, it was in vain to expect, by compliances, to obtain a perfect unanimity and comprehenſion: That the more inſignificant the objects of diſpute appeared, with the more certainty might it be inferred, that the real ground of diſſention was different from that which was univerſally pretended: That the love of novelty, the pride of argumentation, the pleaſure of making proſelytes, and the obſtinacy of contradiction, would for ever give riſe to ſects and diſputes; nor was it poſſible that ſuch a ſource of diſſention could ever, by any conceſſions, be entirely exhauſted: That the church, by departing from ancient practices and principles, would tacitly acknowledge herſelf guilty of error, and loſe that reverence, ſo requiſite for preſerving the attachment of the multitude: And that if the preſent conceſſions (which was more than probable) ſhould prove ineffectual, greater muſt ſtill be made; and in the iſſue, diſcipline would be deſpoiled of all its authority, and worſhip of all its decency, without obtaining that end, which had been ſo fondly ſought for by theſe dangerous indulgences.

The

CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

THE miniſtry were inclined to give the preference to the latter arguments; and were the more confirmed in that intention by the diſpoſition, which appeared in the parliament lately aſſembled. The royaliſts and zealous churchmen were at preſent the popular party in the nation, and, ſeconded by the efforts of the court, had prevailed in moſt elections. Not more than fifty-ſix members of the preſbyterian party had obtained ſeats in the lower houſe [x]; and theſe were not able either to oppoſe or retard the meaſures of the majority. Monarchy, therefore, and epiſcopacy, were now exalted to as great power and ſplendor as they had lately ſuffered miſery and depreſſion. Sir Edward Turner was choſen ſpeaker.

A new parliament. 8th May.

AN act was paſſed for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government. To intend or deviſe the king's impriſonment, or bodily harm, or depoſition, or levying war againſt him, is declared, during the life-time of his preſent majeſty, to be high treaſon. To affirm him to be a papiſt or heretic, or to endeavour by ſpeech or writing to alienate his ſubjects' affections from him; theſe offences were made ſufficient to incapacitate the perſon guilty from holding any employment in church or ſtate. To maintain that the long parliament is not diſſolved, or that either or both houſes, without the king, are poſſeſſed of legiſlative authority, or that the covenant is binding; was made puniſhable by the penalty of premunire.

THE covenant itſelf, together with the act for erecting the high court of juſtice, that for ſubſcribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a commonwealth, were ordered to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The people aſſiſted with great alacrity on this occaſion.

THE abuſes of petitioning in the preceding reign had been attended with the worſt conſequences; and to prevent ſuch irregular practices for the future, it was enacted,

[x] Carte's Anſwer to the Byſtander, p. 79.

CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

that no more than twenty hands ſhould be affixed to any petition, unleſs with the ſanction of three juſtices, or the major part of the grand jury; and that no petition ſhould be preſented to the king or either houſe by above ten perſons. The penalty annexed to a tranſgreſſion of this law was a fine of a hundred pounds and three months impriſonment.

Biſhops' ſeats reſtored.

THE biſhops, though reſtored to their ſpiritual authority, were ſtill excluded from parliament by the law, which the late king had paſſed, immediately before the commencement of the civil diſorders. Great violence, both againſt the king and the houſe of peers, had been employed in paſſing this law; and on that account alone, the partizans of the church were provided with a plauſible pretence for repealing it. Charles expreſſed much ſatisfaction, when he gave his aſſent to the act for that purpoſe. It is certain, that the authority of the crown, as well as that of the church, was intereſted in reſtoring the prelates to their former dignity. But thoſe, who deemed every acquiſition of the prince a detriment to the people, were apt to complain of this inſtance of complaiſance in the parliament.

20th Nov.

AFTER an adjournment of ſome months, the parliament was again aſſembled, and proceeded in the ſame ſpirit as before. They diſcovered no deſign of reſtoring, in its full extent, the ancient prerogatives of the crown: They were only anxious to repair all thoſe breaches, which had been made, not by the love of liberty, but by the fury of faction and civil war. The power of the ſword had, in all ages, been allowed to be veſted in the crown; and though no law conferred this prerogative, every parliament, till the laſt of the preceding reign, had willingly ſubmitted to an authority more ancient, and therefore more ſacred, than that of any poſitive ſtatute. It was now thought proper ſolemnly to relinquiſh the violent

violent pretenſions of that parliament, and to acknowledge, that neither one houſe, nor both houſes, independent of the king, were poſſeſſed of any military authority. The preamble to this ſtatute went ſo far as to renounce all right even of *defenſive* arms againſt the king; and much obſervation has been made with regard to a conceſſion, eſteemed ſo ſingular. Were thoſe terms taken in their full literal ſenſe, they imply a total renunciation of limitations to monarchy, and of all privileges in the ſubject, independent of the will of the ſovereign. For as no rights can ſubſiſt without ſome remedy, ſtill leſs rights expoſed to ſo much invaſion from tyranny, or even from ambition; if ſubjects muſt never reſiſt, it follows, that every prince, without any effort, policy, or violence, is at once rendered abſolute and uncontroulable: The ſovereign needs only iſſue an edict, aboliſhing every authority but his own; and all liberty, from that moment, is in effect annihilated. But this meaning it were abſurd to impute to the preſent parliament, who, though zealous royaliſts, ſhowed, in their meaſures, that they had not caſt off all regard to national privileges. They were probably ſenſible, that to ſuppoſe in the ſovereign any ſuch invaſion of public liberty is entirely unconſtitutional; and that therefore expreſly to reſerve, upon that event, any right of reſiſtance in the ſubject, muſt be liable to the ſame objection. They had ſeen that the long parliament, under colour of defence, had begun a violent attack upon kingly power; and after involving the kingdom in blood, had finally loſt that liberty, for which they had ſo imprudently contended. They thought, perhaps erroneouſly, that it was no longer poſſible, after ſuch public and ſuch exorbitant pretenſions, to perſevere in that prudent ſilence, hitherto maintained by the laws; and that it was neceſſary, by ſome poſitive declaration, to bar the return of like inconveniencies. When they excluded, therefore,

CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

CHAP. LXIII.

1661.

therefore, the right of defence, they ſuppoſed, that, the conſtitution remaining firm upon its baſis, there never really could be an attack made by the ſovereign. If ſuch an attack was at any time made, the neceſſity was then extreme: And the caſe of extreme and violent neceſſity, no laws, they thought, could comprehend; becauſe to ſuch a neceſſity no laws could beforehand point out a proper remedy.

THE other meaſures of this parliament ſtill diſcovered more anxious care to guard againſt rebellion in the ſubject than encroachments in the crown: The recent evils of civil war and uſurpation had naturally encreaſed the ſpirit of ſubmiſſion to the monarch, and had thrown the nation into that dangerous extreme. During the violent and jealous government of the parliament and of the protectors, all magiſtrates, liable to ſuſpicion, had been expelled the corporations; and none had been admitted, who gave not proofs of affection to the ruling powers, or who refuſed to ſubſcribe the covenant. To leave all authority in ſuch hands ſeemed dangerous; and the parliament, therefore, empowered the king to appoint commiſſioners for regulating the corporations, and expelling ſuch magiſtrates as either had intruded themſelves by violence, or profeſſed principles, dangerous to the conſtitution, civil and eccleſiaſtical. It was alſo enacted, that all magiſtrates ſhould diſclaim the obligation of the covenant, and ſhould declare, both their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to reſiſt the king, and their abhorrence of the traiterous poſition of taking arms by the king's authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe who were commiſſioned by him.

Corporation act.

WHEN the latter part of this oath, the words, *commiſſioned by him*, which ſeem the moſt dangerous to the conſtitution, came to be debated, it was moved in the houſe, and earneſtly preſſed by Sir John Vaughan, an eminent lawyer,

lawyer, that the word, *lawfully*, might be added, in order to remove all difficulties. But the attorney-general, Sir Heneage Finch, answered, that it was not necessary: The very word, commission, imported it; since any power, not lawfully issued, to lawful persons, and for a lawful purpose, was in reality no commission at all: And the whole house seemed to assent to this interpretation. The same word, *lawfully*, was endeavoured to be added by Southampton himself, in the house of peers; but a like answer was made by Anglesey. Southampton still insisted, that such an addition would clear all obscurities; and that many, not having heard the particular sense of the parliament, might fancy, that, if any sort of commission was granted, it would not be lawful to resist it: But that worthy patriot could not prevail. The opinion of both parties, it is to be presumed, was the same; though the fear of affording a pretence to rebellion made the royalists overlook the danger, to which liberty might be exposed by such concessions. They thought, that, in most human deliberations, it was difficult, if not impossible, to make a choice, not exposed to some inconvenience. And it is but too usual for victorious parties, who had suffered under oppression, to signalize their triumph over their adversaries, by carrying matters to the extremity most opposite to that which had formerly prevailed.

1662.

THE care of the church was no less attended to by this parliament, than that of monarchy; and the bill of uniformity was a pledge of their sincere attachment to the episcopal hierarchy, and of their antipathy to presbyterianism. Different parties, however, concurred in promoting this bill, which contained many severe clauses. The independents and other sectaries, enraged to find all their schemes subverted by the presbyterians, who had

Act of uniformity.

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

once been their associates, exerted themselves to disappoint that party of the favour and indulgence, to which, from their recent merits in promoting the restoration, they thought themselves justly entitled. By the presbyterians, said they, the war was raised: By them was the populace first incited to tumults: By their zeal, interest, and riches were the armies supported: By their force was the king subdued: And if, in the sequel, they protested against those extreme violences, committed on his person by the military leaders, their opposition came too late, after having supplied these usurpers with the power and the pretences, by which they maintained their sanguinary measures. They had indeed concurred with the royalists in recalling the king: But ought they to be esteemed, on that account, more affectionate to the royal cause? Rage and animosity, from disappointed ambition, were plainly their sole motives; and if the king should now be so imprudent as to distinguish them by any particular indulgences, he would soon experience from them the same hatred and opposition, which proved so fatal to his father.

THE catholics, though they had little interest in the nation, were a considerable party at court; and from their services and sufferings, during the civil wars, it seemed but just to bear them some favour and regard. These religionists dreaded an entire union among the protestants. Were they the sole nonconformists in the nation, the severe execution of penal laws upon their sect seemed an infallible consequence; and they used, therefore, all their interest to push matters to extremity against the presbyterians, who had formerly been their most severe oppressors, and whom they now expected for their companions in affliction. The earl of Bristol, who, from conviction, or interest, or levity, or complaisance for the company with whom he lived, had changed his religion during

during the king's exile, was regarded as the head of this party. CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

THE church party had, during ſo many years, ſuffered ſuch injuries and indignities from the ſectaries of every denomination, that no moderation, much leſs deference, was on this occaſion to be expected in the eccleſiaſtics. Even the laity of that communion ſeemed now diſpoſed to retaliate upon their enemies, according to the uſual meaſures of party juſtice. This ſect or faction (for it was a mixture of both) encouraged the rumours of plots and conſpiracies againſt the government; crimes, which, without any apparent reaſon, they imputed to their adverſaries. And inſtead of enlarging the terms of communion, in order to comprehend the preſbyterians, they gladly laid hold of the prejudices, which prevailed among that ſect, in order to eject them from their livings. By the bill of uniformity it was required, that every clergyman ſhould be re-ordained, if he had not before received epiſcopal ordination; ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience; ſhould abjure the ſolemn league and covenant; and ſhould renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatſoever, againſt the king.

THIS bill re-inſtated the church in the ſame condition, in which it ſtood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old perſecuting laws of Elizabeth ſtill ſubſiſted in their full rigor, and new clauſes of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promiſes of toleration and of indulgence to tender conſciences were thereby eluded and broken. It is true, Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had expreſſed his intention of regulating that indulgence by the advice and authority of parliament: But this limitation could never reaſonably be extended to a total infringement and violation of his engagements.

CHAP. LXIII.

1662. However, it is agreed, that the king did not voluntarily concur with this violent meaſure, and that the zeal of Clarendon and of the church party among the commons, ſeconded by the intrigues of the catholics, was the chief cauſe, which extorted his conſent.

THE royaliſts, who now predominated, were very ready to ſignalize their victory, by eſtabliſhing thoſe high principles of monarchy, which their antagoniſts had controverted: But when any real power or revenue was demanded for the crown, they were neither ſo forward nor ſo liberal in their conceſſions as the king would gladly have wiſhed. Though the parliament paſſed laws for regulating the navy, they took no notice of the army; and declined giving their ſanction to this dangerous innovation. The king's debts were become intolerable; and the commons were at laſt conſtrained to vote him an extraordinary ſupply of 1,200,000 pounds, to be levied by eighteen monthly aſſeſſments. But beſides that this ſupply was much inferior to the occaſion, the king was obliged earneſtly to ſolicit the commons, before he could obtain it; and, in order to convince the houſe of its abſolute neceſſity, he deſired them to examine ſtrictly into all his receipts and diſburſements. Finding likewiſe upon enquiry, that the ſeveral branches of revenue fell much ſhort of the ſums expected, they at laſt, after much delay, voted a new impoſition of two ſhillings on each hearth; and this tax they ſettled on the king during life. The whole eſtabliſhed revenue, however, did not, for many years, exceed a million [y]; a ſum confeſſedly too narrow for the public expences. A very rigid frugality at leaſt, which the king wanted, would have been requiſite to make it ſuffice for the dignity and ſecurity of government.

19th May. After all buſineſs was diſpatched, the parliament was prorogued.

y D'Eſtrades, 25th of July, 1661. Mr. Ralph's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 176.

BEFORE

CHAP. LXIII.

1662. King's marriage.

BEFORE the parliament roſe, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catharine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who had juſt landed at Portſmouth. During the time, that the protector carried on the war with Spain, he was naturally led to ſupport the Portugueſe in their revolt; and he engaged himſelf by treaty to ſupply them with 10,000 men for their defence againſt the Spaniards. On the king's reſtoration, advances were made by Portugal for the renewal of that alliance; and in order to bind the friendſhip cloſer, an offer was made of the Portugueſe princeſs, and a portion of 500,000 pounds, together with two fortreſſes, Tangiers in Africa and Bombay in the Eaſt Indies. Spain, who, after the peace of the Pyrenees, bent all her force to recover Portugal, now in appearance abandoned by France, took the alarm, and endeavoured to fix Charles in an oppoſite intereſt. The catholic king offered to adopt any other princeſs as a daughter of Spain, either the princeſs of Parma, or, what he thought more popular, ſome proteſtant princeſs, the daughter of Denmark, Saxony, or Orange: And on any of theſe, he promiſed to confer a dowry equal to that which was offered by Portugal. But many reaſons inclined Charles rather to accept of the Portugueſe propoſals. The great diſorders in the government and finances of Spain made the execution of her promiſes be much doubted; and the king's urgent neceſſities demanded ſome ſupply of money. The intereſts of the Engliſh commerce likewiſe ſeemed to require, that the independancy of Portugal ſhould be ſupported, leſt the union of that crown with Spain ſhould put the whole treaſures of America into the hands of one potentate. The claims too of Spain upon Dunkirk and Jamaica, rendered it impoſſible, without farther conceſſions, to obtain the cordial friendſhip of that power; And on the other hand, the offer, made

CHAP. LXIII.

1662.

by Portugal, of two ſuch conſiderable fortreſſes, promiſed a great acceſſion to the naval force of England. Above all, the propoſal of a proteſtant princeſs was no allurement to Charles, whoſe inclinations led him ſtrongly to give the preference to a catholic alliance. According to the moſt probable accounts [z], the reſolution of marrying the daughter of Portugal was taken by the king, unknown to all his miniſters; and no remonſtrances could prevail with him to alter his intentions. When the matter was laid before the council, all voices concurred in approving the reſolution; and the parliament expreſſed the ſame complaiſance. And thus was concluded, ſeemingly with

21ſt May.

univerſal conſent, the inauſpicious marriage with Catherine, a princeſs of virtue, but who was never able, either by the graces of her perſon or humour, to make herſelf agreeable to the king. The report however of her natural incapacity to have children, ſeems to have been groundleſs; ſince ſhe was twice declared to be pregnant [a].

THE feſtivity of theſe eſpouſals was clouded by the trial and execution of criminals. Berkſtead, Cobbet, and Okey, three regicides, had eſcaped beyond ſea; and after wandering ſome time concealed in Germany, came privately to Delft, having appointed their families to meet them in that place. They were diſcovered by Downing, the king's reſident in Holland, who had formerly ſerved the protector and commonwealth in the ſame ſtation, and who once had even been chaplain to Okey's regiment.

[z] Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 254. This account ſeems better ſupported, than that in Ablancourt's Memoirs, that the chancellor chiefly puſhed the Portugueſe alliance. The ſecret tranſactions of the court of England could not be ſuppoſed to be much known to a French reſident at Liſbon: And whatever oppoſition the chancellor made, he would certainly endeavour to conceal it from the queen and all her family; and even in the parliament and council would ſupport the reſolution already taken. *Clarendon himſelf ſays in his Memoirs, that he never either oppoſed or promoted the Portugueſe match.*

[a] Lord Lanſdown's Defence of general Monk. Temple, vol. ii. p. 154.

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He applied for a warrant to arreſt them. It had been uſual for the States to grant theſe warrants; though at the ſame time, they had ever been careful ſecretly to advertiſe the perſons, that they might be enabled to make their eſcape. This precaution was eluded by the vigilance and diſpatch of Downing. He quickly ſeized the criminals, hurried them on board a frigate which lay off the coaſt, and ſent them to England. Theſe three men behaved with more moderation and ſubmiſſion than any of the other regicides, who had ſuffered. Okey in particular, at the place of execution, prayed for the king, and expreſſed his intention, had he lived, of ſubmitting peaceably to the eſtabliſhed government. He had riſen during the wars from being a chandler in London to a high rank in the army; and in all his conduct appeared to be a man of humanity and honour. In conſideration of his good character and of his dutiful behaviour, his body was given to his friends to be buried. CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

THE attention of the public was much engaged by the trial of two diſtinguiſhed criminals, Lambert and Vane. Theſe men, though none of the late king's judges, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to priſon. The convention-parliament, however, was ſo favourable to them, as to petition the king, if they ſhould be found guilty, to ſuſpend their execution: But this new parliament, more zealous for monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation. Not to revive diſputes, which were better buried in oblivion, the indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the war between the king and parliament: It extended only to his behaviour after the late king's death, as member of the council of ſtate, and ſecretary of the navy; where fidelity to the truſt, repoſed in him, required his oppoſition to monarchy. Trial of Vane.

VANE

CHAP. LXIII.

1662.

VANE wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himself of this advantage. He urged, that, if a compliance with the government, at that time established in England, and the acknowledging of its authority were to be regarded as criminal, the whole nation had incurred equal guilt, and none would remain, whose innocence could entitle them to try or condemn him for his pretended treasons: That, according to these maxims, wherever an illegal authority was established by force, a total and universal destruction must ensue; while the usurpers proscribed one part of the nation for disobedience, the lawful prince punished the other for compliance: That the legislature of England, foreseeing this violent situation, had provided for public security by the famous statute of Henry VII; in which it was enacted, that no man, in case of any revolution, should ever be questioned for his obedience to the king in being: That whether the established government was a monarchy or a commonwealth, the reason of the thing was still the same; nor ought the expelled prince to think himself entitled to allegiance, so long as he could not afford protection: That it belonged not to private persons, possessed of no power, to discuss the title of their governors; and every usurpation, even the most flagrant, would equally require obedience with the most legal establishment: That the controversy between the late king and his parliament was of the most delicate nature; and men of the greatest probity had been divided in their choice of the party which they should embrace: That the parliament, being rendered undissoluble but by its own consent, was become a kind of co-ordinate power with the king; and as the case was thus entirely new and unknown to the constitution, it ought not to be tried rigidly by the letter of the ancient laws: That for his part, all the violences, which had been put upon the parliament, and upon the person

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of the ſovereign, he had ever condemned; nor had he once appeared in the houſe for ſome time before and after the execution of the king: That, finding the whole government thrown into diſorder, he was ſtill reſolved, in every revolution, to adhere to the commons, the root, the foundation of all lawful authority: That in proſecution of this principle, he had chearfully undergone all the violence of Cromwel's tyranny; and would now, with equal alacrity, expoſe himſelf to the rigours of perverted law and juſtice: That though it was in his power, on the king's reſtoration, to have eſcaped from his enemies, he was determined, in imitation of the moſt illuſtrious names of antiquity, to periſh in defence of liberty, and to give teſtimony with his blood for that honourable cauſe, in which he had been inliſted: And, that, beſides the ties, with which God and nature had bound him to his native country, he was voluntarily engaged by the moſt ſacred covenant, whoſe obligation no earthly power ſhould ever be able to make him relinquiſh.

1662.

ALL the defence, which Vane could make, was fruitleſs. The court, conſidering more the general opinion of his active guilt in the beginning and proſecution of the civil wars, than the articles of treaſon charged againſt him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty. His courage deſerted him not upon his condemnation. Though timid by nature, the perſuaſion of a juſt cauſe ſupported him againſt the terrors of death; while his enthuſiaſm, excited by the proſpect of glory, embelliſhed the concluſion of a life, which, through the whole courſe of it, had been ſo much diſfigured by the prevalence of that principle. Leſt pity for a courageous ſufferer ſhould make impreſſion on the populace, drummers were placed under the ſcaffold, whoſe noiſe, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice, and admoniſhed him to temper the

11th June.

and execution. 14th June.

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CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

ardour of his zeal. He was not aſtoniſhed at this unexpected incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; and he conſidered death but as a paſſage to that eternal felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him.

THIS man, ſo celebrated for his parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in buſineſs, has left ſome writings behind him: They treat, all of them, of religious ſubjects, and are abſolutely unintelligible: No traces of eloquence, or even of common ſenſe appear in them. A ſtrange paradox! did we not know, that men of the greateſt genius, where they relinquiſh by principle the uſe of their reaſon, are only enabled, by their vigour of mind, to work themſelves the deeper into error and abſurdity. It was remarked, that, as Vane, by being the chief inſtrument of Strafford's death, had firſt opened the way for that deſtruction, which overwhelmed the nation; ſo by his death he cloſed the ſcene of blood. He was the laſt that ſuffered on account of the civil wars. Lambert, though condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared, that, if Vane's behaviour had been equally dutiful and ſubmiſſive, he would have experienced like lenity in the king. Lambert ſurvived his condemnation near thirty years. He was confined to the iſle of Guerneſey; where he lived contented, forgetting all his paſt ſchemes of greatneſs, and entirely forgot by the nation: He died a Roman catholic.

Preſbyterian clergy ejected. 24th Aug.

HOWEVER odious Vane and Lambert to the preſbyterians, that party had no leiſure to rejoice at their condemnation. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached; the day, when the clergy were obliged by the late law, either to relinquiſh their livings, or to ſign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the more zealous of the preſbyterian eccleſiaſtics to refuſe the ſubſcription; in hopes, that the biſhops would not

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

not dare at once to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers. The catholic party at court, who desired a great rent among the protestants, encouraged them in this obstinacy, and gave them hopes, that the king would protect them in their refusal. The king himself, by his irresolute conduct, contributed, either from design or accident, to encrease this opinion. Above all, the terms of subscription had been made strict and rigid, on purpose to disgust all the zealous and scrupulous among the presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About 2000 of the clergy, in one day, relinquished their cures; and to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. Fortified by society in their sufferings, they were resolved to undergo any hardships, rather than openly renounce those principles, which, on other occasions, they were so apt, from interest, to warp or elude. The church enjoyed the pleasure of retaliation; and even pushed, as usual, the vengeance farther than the offence. During the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth of each living had been left to the ejected clergyman; but this indulgence, though at first insisted on by the house of peers, was now refused to the presbyterians. However difficult to conciliate peace among theologians, it was hoped by many, that some relaxation in the terms of communion might have kept the presbyterians united to the church, and have cured those ecclesiastical factions, which had been so fatal, and were still so dangerous. Bishopries were offered to Calamy, Baxter and Reynolds, leaders among the presbyterians; the last only could be prevailed on to accept. Deaneries and other preferments were refused by many.

The next measure of the king has not had the good fortune to be justified by any party; but is often considered as one of the greatest mistakes, if not blemishes, of his

CHAP. LXIII.

1662. Dunkirk sold to the French.

reign. It is the sale of Dunkirk to the French. The parsimonious maxims of the parliament, and the liberal, not to say lavish disposition of Charles, were ill suited to each other; and notwithstanding the supplies voted him, his treasury was still very empty and very much indebted. He had secretly received the sum of 200,000 crowns from France for the defence of Portugal; but the forces sent over to that country, and the fleets, maintained in order to defend it, had already cost the king that sum, and together with it, near double the money, which had been payed for the queen's portion [b]. The time fixed for payment of his sister's portion to the duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangiers, a fortress from which great benefit was expected, was become an additional burthen on the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded in Dunkirk, had encreased the charge of that garrison to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year. These considerations had such influence, not only on the king, but even on Clarendon, that this uncorrupt minister was the most forward to advise accepting a sum of money in lieu of a place which, he thought, the king, from the narrow state of his revenue, was no longer able to retain. By the treaty with Portugal, it was stipulated, that Dunkirk should never be yielded to the Spaniards: France was therefore the only purchaser that remained. D'Estrades was invited over by a letter from the chancellor himself, in order to conclude the bargain. Nine hundred thousand pounds were demanded: One hundred thousand were offered. The English by degrees lowered their demand; The French raised their offer: And the bargain was concluded at 400,000 pounds. The artillery and stores were valued at a fifth of the sum [c]. The importance of

[b] D'Estrades, 17th of August, 1662. There was above half of 500,000 pounds really paid as the queen's portion.

[c] Id. 21st of August, 12th of September, 1662.

2 this

this sale was not, at that time, sufficiently known, either abroad or at home [d]. The French monarch himself, so fond of acquisitions, and so good a judge of his own interests, thought, that he had made a hard bargain [e]; and this sum, in appearance so small, was the utmost, which he would allow his ambassador to offer.

A NEW incident discovered such a glimpse of the king's character and principles of policy as, at first, the nation was somewhat at a loss how to interpret, but such as subsequent events, by degrees, rendered sufficiently plain and manifest. He issued a declaration on pretence of mitigating the rigours, contained in the act of uniformity. After expressing his firm resolution to observe the general indemnity, and to trust entirely to the affections of his subjects, not to any military power, for the support of his throne; he mentioned the promises of liberty of conscience, contained in his declaration of Breda. And he subjoined, that, "as in the first place he had been "zealous to settle the uniformity of the church of Eng- "land, in discipline, ceremony and government, and "shall ever constantly maintain it: So as for what con- "cerns the penalties upon those who, living peaceably, "do not conform themselves thereunto, through scruple

Declaration of indulgence. 26th Dec.

[d] It appears, however, from many of D'Estrade's letters, particularly that of the 21st of August, 1661, that the king might have transferred Dunkirk to the parliament, who would not have refused to bear the charges of it, but were unwilling to give money to the king for that purpose. The king on the other hand was jealous, lest the parliament should acquire any separate dominion or authority in a branch of administration, which seemed so little to belong to them: A proof that the government was not yet settled into that composure, and mutual confidence, which is absolutely requisite for conducting it.

[e] Id. 3d of October, 1662. The chief importance indeed of Dunkirk to the English was, that it was able to distress their trade, when in the hands of the French: But it was Lewis the XIVth who first made it a good sea-port. If ever England have occasion to transport armies, to the continent, it must be in support of some ally whose towns serve to the same purpose as Dunkirk would, if in the hands of the English.

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

" and tenderneſs of miſguided conſcience, but modeſtly " and without ſcandal perform their devotions in their " own way, he ſhould make it his ſpecial care, ſo far as " in him lay, without invading the freedom of parlia- " ment, to incline their wiſdom next approaching ſeſſions " to concur with him in making ſome ſuch act for that " purpoſe, as may enable him to exerciſe, with a more " univerſal ſatisfaction, that power of diſpenſing, which " he conceived to be inherent in him [f]." Here a moſt important prerogative was exerciſed by the king; but under ſuch artful reſerves and limitations as might prevent the full diſcuſſion of the claim, and obviate a breach between him and his parliament. The foundation of this meaſure lay much deeper, and was of the utmoſt conſequence.

THE king, during his exile, had imbibed ſtrong prejudices in favour of the catholic religion; and according to the moſt probable accounts, had already been ſecretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome. The great zeal, expreſſed by the parliamentary party againſt all papiſts, had always, from a ſpirit of oppoſition, inclined the court and all the royaliſts to adopt more favourable ſentiments towards that ſect, which, through the whole courſe of the civil wars, had ſtrenuouſly ſupported the rights of the ſovereign. The rigour too, which the king, during his abode in Scotland, had experienced from the preſbyterians, diſpoſed him to run into the other extreme, and to bear a kindneſs to the party, moſt oppoſite in its genius to the ſeverity of thoſe religioniſts. The ſolicitations and importunities of the queen-mother, the contagion of the company which he frequented, the view of a more ſplendid and courtly mode of worſhip, the hopes of indulgence in pleaſure; all theſe cauſes operated powerfully on a young prince, whoſe careleſs and diſſo-

[f] Kennet's Regiſter, p. 850.

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lute temper made him incapable of adhering closely to the principles of his early education. But if the thoughtless humour of Charles rendered him an easy convert to popery, the same disposition ever prevented the theological tenets of that sect from taking any fast hold of him. During his vigorous state of health, while his blood was warm and his spirits high, a contempt and disregard to all religion held possession of his mind; and he might more properly be denominated a deist than a catholic. But in those revolutions of temper, when the love of raillery gave place to reflection, and his penetrating, but negligent understanding was clouded with fears and apprehensions, he had starts of more sincere conviction; and a sect, which always possessed his inclination, was then master of his judgment and opinion [g].

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

But though the king thus floated, during his whole reign, between irreligion, which he more openly professed, and popery, to which he retained a secret propensity, his brother, the duke of York, had zealously adopted all the principles of that theological party. His eager temper and narrow understanding made him a thorough convert, without any reserve from interest, or doubts from reasoning and enquiry. By his application to business, he had acquired a great ascendant over the king, who, though possessed of more discernment, was glad to throw the burthen of affairs on the duke, of whom he entertained little jealousy. On pretence of easing the protestant dissenters, they agreed upon a plan for introducing a general toleration, and giving the catholics the free exercise of their religion; at least, the exercise of it in private houses. The two brothers saw with pleasure so numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuse

g The author confesses, that the king's zeal for popery went farther than is here supposed, as appears from many passages in James the Second's Memoirs.

CHAP. LXIII.

conformity; and it was hoped, that, under ſhelter of their name, the ſmall and hated ſect of the catholics might meet with favour and protection.

1662.

1663. 18th Feb.

But while the king pleaded his early promiſes of toleration, and inſiſted on many other plauſible topics, the parliament, who ſat a little after the declaration was iſſued, could by no means be ſatisfied with this meaſure. The declared intention of eaſing the diſſenters, and the ſecret purpoſe of favouring the catholics, were equally diſagreeable to them; and in theſe prepoſſeſſions they were encouraged by the king's miniſters themſelves, particularly the chancellor. The houſe of commons repreſented to the king, that his declaration of Breda contained no promiſe to the preſbyterians and other diſſenters, but only an expreſſion of his intentions, upon ſuppoſition of the parliament's concurrence: That even if the nonconformiſts had been entitled to plead a promiſe, they had entruſted this claim, as all their other rights and privileges, to the houſe of commons, who were their repreſentatives, and who now freed the king from that obligation: That it was not to be ſuppoſed, that his majeſty and the houſes were ſo bound by that declaration as to be incapacitated from making any laws, which might be contrary to it: That even at the king's reſtoration, there were laws of uniformity in force, which could not be diſpenſed with but by act of parliament: And that the indulgence propoſed would prove moſt pernicious both to church and ſtate, would open the door to ſchiſm, encourage faction, diſturb the public peace, and diſcredit the wiſdom of the legiſlature. The king did not think proper, after this remonſtrance, to inſiſt any farther at preſent on the project of indulgence.

In order to deprive the catholics of all hopes, the two houſes concurred in a remonſtrance againſt them. The king

king gave a gracious answer; though he scrupled not to profess his gratitude towards many of that persuasion, on account of their faithful services in his father's cause and in his own. A proclamation, for form's sake, was soon after issued against Jesuits and Romish priests: But care was taken, by the very terms of it, to render it ineffectual. The parliament had allowed, that all foreign priests, belonging to the two queens, should be excepted, and that a permission for them to remain in England should still be granted. In the proclamation, the word, *foreign*, was purposely omitted; and the queens were thereby authorized to give protection to as many English priests as they should think proper. CHAP. LXIII. 1663.

THAT the king might reap some advantage from his compliances, however fallacious, he engaged the commons anew into an examination of his revenue, which, chiefly by the negligence in levying it, had proved, he said, much inferior to the public charges. Notwithstanding the price of Dunkirk, his debts, he complained, amounted to a considerable sum; and to satisfy the commons, that the money formerly granted him, had not been prodigally expended, he offered to lay before them the whole account of his disbursements. It is however agreed on all hands, that the king, though, during his banishment, he had managed his small and precarious income with great order and œconomy, had now much abated of these virtues, and was unable to make his royal revenues suffice for his expences. The commons, without entering into too nice a disquisition, voted him four subsidies; and this was the last time, that taxes were levied in that manner.

SEVERAL laws were made this session with regard to trade. The militia also came under consideration, and some rules were established for ordering and arming it. It was enacted, that the king should have no power of

CHAP. LXIII. 1663.

keeping the militia under arms above fourteen days in the year. The ſituation of this iſland, together with its great naval power, has always occaſioned other means of ſecurity, however requiſite, to be much neglected amongſt us: And the parliament ſhowed here a very ſuperfluous jealouſy of the king's ſtrictneſs in diſciplining the militia. The principles of liberty rather require a contrary jealouſy.

THE earl of Briſtol's friendſhip with Clarendon, which had ſubſiſted, with great intimacy, during their exile and the diſtreſſes of the royal party, had been conſiderably impaired ſince the reſtoration, by the chancellor's refuſing his aſſent to ſome grants, which Briſtol had applied for to a court lady: And a little after, the latter nobleman, agreeably to the impetuoſity and indiſcretion of his temper, broke out againſt the miniſter in the moſt outrageous manner. He even entered a charge of treaſon againſt him before the houſe of peers; but had concerted his plan ſo imprudently, that the judges, when conſulted, declared, that, neither for its matter nor its form, could it legally be received. The articles indeed reſemble more the incoherent altercations of a paſſionate enemy, than a ſerious charge, fit to be diſcuſſed by a court of judicature; and Briſtol himſelf was ſo aſhamed of his conduct and defeat, that he abſconded during ſome time. Notwithſtanding his fine talents, his eloquence, his ſpirit, and his courage, he could never regain the character, which he loſt by this haſty and precipitate meaſure.

Decline of Clarendon's credit.

BUT though Clarendon was able to elude this raſh aſſault, he was ſenſibly declining in his credit at court; and in proportion as the king found himſelf eſtabliſhed on the throne, he began to alienate himſelf from a miniſter, whoſe character was ſo little ſuited to his own. Charles's favour for the catholics was always oppoſed by Clarendon, public liberty was ſecured againſt all attempts of the

over-zealous royaliſts, prodigal grants of the king were checked or refuſed, and the dignity of his own character was ſo much conſulted by the chancellor, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did alſo his friend, Southampton, never to enter into any connexion with the royal miſtreſſes. The king's favourite was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created dutcheſs of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, diſſolute, violent, revengeful. She failed not in her turn to undermine Clarendon's credit with his maſter; and her ſucceſs was at this time made apparent to the whole world. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and Sir Harry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office. Bennet was ſoon after created lord Arlington. CHAP. LXIII. 1663.

THOUGH the king's conduct had hitherto, ſince his reſtoration, been, in the main, laudable, men of penetration began to obſerve, that thoſe virtues, by which he had, at firſt, ſo much dazzled and enchanted the nation, had great ſhow, but not equal ſolidity. His good underſtanding loſt much of its influence by his want of application; his bounty was more the reſult of a facility of diſpoſition than any generoſity of character; his ſocial humour led him frequently to neglect his dignity; his love of pleaſure was not attended with proper ſentiment and decency; and while he ſeemed to bear a good will to every one that approached him, he had a heart not very capable of friendſhip, and he had ſecretly entertained a very bad opinion and diſtruſt of mankind. But above all, what ſullied his character in the eyes of good judges was his negligent ingratitude towards the unfortunate cavaliers, whoſe zeal and ſufferings for the royal cauſe had known no bounds. This conduct however in the king may, from the circumſtances of his ſituation and temper, admit of ſome excuſe; at leaſt, of ſome alleviation. As he had been reſtored more by the efforts of his reconciled enemies than

CHAP. LXIII.

1663.

than of his ancient friends, the former pretended a title to ſhare his favour; and being, from practice, acquainted with public buſineſs, they were better qualified to execute any truſt committed to them. The king's revenues were far from being large, or even equal to his neceſſary expences; and his miſtreſſes, and the companions of his mirth and pleaſures, gained by ſolicitation every requeſt from his eaſy temper. The very poverty, to which the more zealous royaliſts had reduced themſelves, by rendering them inſignificant, made them unfit to ſupport the king's meaſures, and cauſed him to deem them a uſeleſs incumbrance. And as many falſe and ridiculous claims of merit were offered, his natural indolence, averſe to a ſtrict diſcuſſion or enquiry, led him to treat them all with equal indifference. The parliament took ſome notice of the poor cavaliers. Sixty thouſand pounds were at one time diſtributed among them: Mrs. Lane alſo and the Penderells had handſome preſents and penſions from the king: But the greateſt part of the royaliſts ſtill remained in poverty and diſtreſs; aggravated by the cruel diſappointment in their ſanguine hopes, and by ſeeing favour and preferment beſtowed upon their moſt inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they univerſally ſaid, that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

CHAP. LXIV.

A new ſeſſion——Rupture with Holland——A new ſeſſion——Victory of the Engliſh——Rupture with France——Rupture with Denmark——New ſeſſion——Sea-fight of four days——Victory of the Engliſh——Fire of London——Advances towards peace Diſgrace at Chatham——Peace of Breda——Clarendon's fall——and baniſhment——State of France——Character of Lewis XIV.——*French invaſion of the Low Countries——Negotiations——Triple league——Treaty of Aix-la-chapelle——Affairs of Scotland——and of Ireland.*

CHAP. LXIV.

1664. 16th March. A new ſeſſion.

THE next ſeſſion of parliament diſcovered a continuance of the ſame principles, which had prevailed in all the foregoing. Monarchy and the church were ſtill the objects of regard and affection. During no period of the preſent reign, did this ſpirit paſs more evidently the bounds of reaſon and moderation.

THE king in his ſpeech to the parliament had ventured openly to demand a repeal of the triennial act; and he even went ſo far as to declare, that, notwithſtanding the law, he never would allow any parliament to be aſſembled by the methods preſcribed in that ſtatute. The parliament, without taking offence at this declaration, repealed the law; and in lieu of all the ſecurities, formerly provided, ſatisfied themſelves with a general clauſe, "that "parliaments ſhould not be interrupted above three "years at the moſt." As the Engliſh parliament had now raiſed itſelf to be a regular check and controul upon royal

CHAP. LXIV. 1664.

royal power; it is evident, that they ought ſtill to have preſerved a regular ſecurity for their meeting, and not have truſted entirely to the good-will of the king, who, if ambitious or enterpriſing, had ſo little reaſon to be pleaſed with theſe aſſemblies. Before the end of Charles's reign, the nation had occaſion to feel very ſenſibly the effects of this repeal.

By the act of uniformity, every clergyman, who ſhould officiate without being properly qualified, was puniſhable by fine and impriſonment: But this ſecurity was not thought ſufficient for the church. It was now enacted, that, wherever five perſons above thoſe of the ſame houſehold, ſhould aſſemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the firſt offence, to be impriſoned three months, or pay five pounds; for the ſecond, to be impriſoned ſix months, or pay ten pounds; and for the third, to be tranſported ſeven years, or pay a hundred pounds. The parliament had only in their eye the malignity of the ſectaries: They ſhould have carried their attention farther, to the cauſe of that malignity, the former reſtraint under which they had laboured.

The commons likewiſe paſſed a vote, that the wrongs, diſhonours, and indignities, offered to the Engliſh by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, were the greateſt obſtructions to all foreign trade: And they promiſed to aſſiſt the king with their lives and fortunes in aſſerting the rights of his crown againſt all oppoſition whatſoever. This was the firſt open ſtep towards a Dutch war. We muſt explain the cauſes and motives of this meaſure.

Rupture with Holland.

That cloſe union and confederacy, which, during a courſe of near ſeventy years, has ſubſiſted, almoſt without interruption or jealouſy, between England and Holland, is not ſo much founded on the natural unalterable intereſts of theſe ſtates, as on their terror of the growing power of France, who, without their combination, it is appre-

apprehended, would soon extend her dominion over Europe. In the first years of Charles's reign, when the ambitious genius of the French monarch had not, as yet, displayed itself; and when the great force of his people was, in some measure, unknown even to themselves, the rivalship of commerce, not checked by any other jealousy or apprehension, had naturally in England begot a violent enmity against the neighbouring republic. CHAP. LXIV. 1664.

TRADE was beginning, among the English, to be a matter of general concern; but notwithstanding all their efforts and advantages, their commerce seemed hitherto to stand upon a footing, which was somewhat precarious. The Dutch, who, by industry and frugality, were enabled to undersell them in every market, retained possession of the most lucrative branches of commerce; and the English merchants had the mortification to find, that all attempts to extend their trade were still turned, by the vigilance of their rivals, to their loss and dishonour. Their indignation encreased, when they considered the superior naval power of England; the bravery of her officers and seamen; her favourable situation, which enabled her to intercept the whole Dutch commerce. By the prospect of these advantages, they were strongly prompted, from motives less just than political, to make war upon the States; and at once to ravish from them by force, what they could not obtain, or could obtain but slowly, by superior skill and industry.

THE careless, unambitious temper of Charles rendered him little capable of forming so vast a project as that of engrossing the commerce and naval power of Europe; yet could he not remain altogether insensible to such obvious and such tempting prospects. His genius, happily turned towards mechanics, had inclined him to study naval affairs, which, of all branches of business, he both loved the most, and understood the best. Though the Dutch,

CHAP. LXIV.

1664. Dutch, during his exile, had expreſſed towards him more civility and friendſhip, than he had received from any other foreign power; the Louveſtein or ariſtocratic faction, which, at this time, ruled the commonwealth, had fallen into cloſe union with France; and could that party be ſubdued, he might hope, that his nephew, the young prince of Orange, would be re-inſtated in the authority, poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, and would bring the States to a dependence under England. His narrow revenues made it ſtill requiſite for him to ſtudy the humours of his people, which now ran violently towards war; and it has been ſuſpected, though the ſuſpicion was not juſtified by the event, that the hopes of diverting ſome of the ſupplies to his private uſe were not overlooked by this neceſſitous monarch.

The duke of York, more active and enterprizing, puſhed more eagerly the war with Holland. He deſired an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf: He loved to cultivate commerce: He was at the head of a new African company, whoſe trade was extremely checked by the ſettlements of the Dutch: And perhaps, the religious prejudices, by which that prince was always ſo much governed, began, even ſo early, to inſtil into him an antipathy againſt a proteſtant commonwealth, the bulwark of the reformation. Clarendon and Southampton, obſerving that the nation was not ſupported by any foreign alliance, were averſe to hoſtilities; but their credit was now on the decline.

17th May. BY theſe concurring motives, the court and parliament were both of them inclined to a Dutch war. The parliament was prorogued without voting ſupplies: But as they had been induced, without any open application from the crown, to paſs that vote above-mentioned againſt the Dutch encroachments, it was reaſonably conſidered as ſanction ſufficient for the vigorous meaſures, which were reſolved on. DOWN-

CHAP. LXIV.

1664.

DOWNING, the Engliſh miniſter at the Hague, a man of an inſolent, impetuous temper, preſented a memorial to the States, containing a liſt of thoſe depredations, of which the Engliſh complained. It is remarkable, that all the pretended depredations preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed with the Dutch; and theſe complaints were then thought, either ſo unjuſt or ſo frivolous, that they had not been mentioned in the treaty. Two ſhips alone, the Bonaventure and the Good-hope, had been claimed by the Engliſh; and it was agreed, that this claim ſhould be proſecuted by the ordinary courſe of juſtice. The States had conſigned a ſum of money, in caſe the cauſe ſhould be decided againſt them; but the matter was ſtill in dependance. Cary, who was entruſted by the proprietors with the management of the law-ſuit for the Bonaventure, had reſolved to accept of thirty thouſand pounds, which were offered him; but was hindered by Downing, who told him, that the claim was a matter of ſtate between the two nations, not a concern of private perſons [h]. Theſe circumſtances give us no favourable idea of the juſtice of the Engliſh pretenſions.

CHARLES confined not himſelf to memorials and remonſtrances. Sir Robert Holmes was ſecretly diſpatched with a ſquadron of twenty-two ſhips to the coaſt of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from cape Corſe, to which the Engliſh had ſome pretenſions: He likewiſe ſeized the Dutch ſettlements of cape Verde and the iſle of Goree, together with ſeveral ſhips trading on that coaſt. And having ſailed to America, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Nova Belgia, ſince called New York; a territory, which James had given by patent to the earl of Sterling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the States complained of theſe hoſtile

[h] Temple, vol. ii. p. 42.

meaſures,

CHAP. LXIV. 1664.

measures, the king, unwilling to avow what he could not well juſtify, pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enterprize. He likewiſe confined that admiral to the Tower; but ſome time after releaſed him.

THE Dutch, finding that their applications for redreſs were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was induſtriouſly ſought for by the Engliſh, began to arm with diligence. They even exerted, with ſome precipitation, an act of vigor, which haſtened on the rupture. Sir John Lawſon and de Ruyter had been ſent with combined ſquadrons into the Mediterranean, in order to chaſtiſe the pyratical ſtates on the coaſt of Barbary; and the time of their ſeparation and return was now approaching. The States ſecretly diſpatched orders to de Ruyter, that he ſhould take in proviſions at Cadiz; and ſailing towards the coaſt of Guinea, ſhould retaliate on the Engliſh, and put the Dutch in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſettlements whence Holmes had expelled them. De Ruyter, having a conſiderable force on board, met with no oppoſition in Guinea. All the new acquiſitions of the Engliſh, except cape Corſe, were recovered from them. They were even diſpoſſeſſed of ſome old ſettlements. Such of their ſhips as fell into his hands were ſeized by de Ruyter. That admiral ſailed next to America. He attacked Barbadoes, but was repulſed. He afterwards committed hoſtilities on Long Iſland.

MEANWHILE, the Engliſh preparations for war were advancing with vigor and induſtry. The king had received no ſupplies from parliament; but by his own funds and credit he was enabled to equip a fleet: The city of London lent him 100,000 pounds: The ſpirit of the nation ſeconded his armaments: He himſelf went from port to port, inſpecting with great diligence, and encouraging the work: And in a little time the Engliſh navy was put in a formidable condition. Eight hundred

thouſand

thousand pounds are said to have been expended on this armament. When Lawson arrived, and communicated his suspicion of de Ruyter's enterprize, orders were issued for seizing all Dutch ships; and 135 fell into the hands of the English. These were not declared prizes, till afterwards, when war was proclaimed.

CHAP. LXIV. 1664.

THE parliament, when met, granted a supply, the largest by far that had ever been given to a king of England, but no more than sufficient for the present undertaking. Near two millions and a half were voted, to be levied by quarterly payments in three years. The avidity of the merchants, together with the great prospect of success, had animated the whole nation against the Dutch.

24th Nov. A new session.

A GREAT alteration was made this session in the method of taxing the clergy. In almost all the other monarchies of Europe, the assemblies, whose consent was formerly requisite to the enacting of laws, were composed of three estates, the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty, which formed so many members of the political body, of which the king was considered as the head. In England too, the parliament was always represented as consisting of three estates; but their separation was never so distinct as in other kingdoms. A convocation, however, had usually sat the same time with the parliament; though they possessed not a negative voice in the passing of laws, and assumed no other temporal power than that of imposing taxes on the clergy. By reason of ecclesiastical preferments, which he could bestow, the king's influence over the church was more considerable than over the laity; so that the subsidies, granted by the convocation, were commonly greater than those which were voted by parliament. The church, therefore, was not displeased to depart tacitly from the right of taxing herself, and allow the commons to lay impositions on

CHAP. LXIV.

1664. ecclesiastical revenues, as on the rest of the kingdom. In recompence, two subsidies, which the convocation had formerly granted, were remitted, and the parochial clergy were allowed to vote at elections. Thus the church of England made a barter of power for profit. Their convocations, having become unprofitable to the crown, have been much disused of late years.

The Dutch saw, with the utmost regret, a war approaching, whence they might dread the most fatal consequences, but which afforded no prospect of advantage. They tried every art of negotiation, before they would come to extremity. Their measures were at that time directed by John de Wit, a minister equally eminent for greatness of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. Though moderate in his private deportment, he knew how to adopt in his public counsels that magnanimity, which suits the minister of a great state. It was ever his maxim, that no independent government should yield to another any evident point of reason or equity; and that all such concessions, so far from preventing war, served to no other purpose than to provoke fresh claims and insolencies. By his management a spirit of union was preserved in all the provinces; great sums were levied; and a navy was equipped, composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

1665. 22d Feb. As soon as certain intelligence arrived of de Ruyter's enterprizes, Charles declared war against the States. His fleet, consisting of 114 sail, besides fire-ships and ketches, was commanded by the duke of York, and under him by prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich. It had about 22,000 men on board. Obdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight

3d June. Victory of the English.

fight with the duke of York, Obdam's ship blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. Tromp alone, son of the famous admiral, killed during the former war, bravely sustained with his squadron the efforts of the English, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk and taken. The victors lost only one. Sir John Lawson died soon after of his wounds.

It is affirmed, and with an appearance of reason, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Brounker, one of the duke's bedchamber, who pretended authority from his master. The duke disclaimed the orders; but Brounker never was sufficiently punished for his temerity [i]. It is allowed, however, that the duke behaved with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickest of the fire. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot at his side, and covered him all over with their brains and gore. And it is not likely, that, in a pursuit, where even persons of inferior station, and of the most cowardly disposition, acquire courage, a commander should feel his spirits to flag,

[i] King James in his Memoirs gives an account of this affair different from what we meet with in any historian. He says, that, while he was asleep, Brounker brought orders to Sir John Harman, captain of the ship, to slacken sail. Sir John remonstrated, but obeyed. After some time, finding that his falling back was likely to produce confusion in the fleet, he hoisted the sail as before: So that the prince coming soon after on the quarter deck, and finding all things as he left them, knew nothing of what had passed during his repose. No body gave him the least intimation of it. It was long after, that he heard of it, by a kind of accident; and he intended to have punished Brounker by martial law; but just about that time, the house of commons took up the question and impeached him, which made it impossible for the duke to punish him otherwise than by dismissing him his service. Brounker, before the house, never pretended, that he had received any orders from the duke.

CHAP. LXIV.

and ſhould turn from the back of an enemy, whoſe face he had not been afraid to encounter.

1665. THIS diſaſter threw the Dutch into conſternation, and determined de Wit, who was the ſoul of their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to ſupport the declining courage of his countrymen. He went on board the fleet, which he took under his command; and he ſoon remedied all thoſe diſorders, which had been occaſioned by the late misfortune. The genius of this man was of the moſt extenſive nature. He quickly became as much maſter of naval affairs, as if he had from his infancy been educated in them; and he even made improvements in ſome parts of pilotage and ſailing, beyond what men expert in thoſe arts had ever been able to attain.

Rupture with France.

THE misfortunes of the Dutch determined their allies to act for their aſſiſtance and ſupport. The king of France was engaged in a defenſive alliance with the States; but as his naval force was yet in its infancy, he was extremely averſe, at that time, from entering into a war with ſo formidable a power as England. He tried long to mediate a peace between the two parties, and for that purpoſe ſent an embaſſy to London, which returned without effecting any thing. Lord Hollis, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, endeavoured to draw over Lewis to the ſide of England; and, in his maſter's name, made him the moſt tempting offers. Charles was content to abandon all the Spaniſh Low Countries to the French, without pretending to a foot of ground for himſelf; provided Lewis would allow him to purſue his advantages againſt the Dutch [k]. But the French monarch, though the conqueſt of that valuable territory was the chief object of his ambition, rejected the offer as contrary to his

[k] D'Eſtrades, 19th of December, 1664.

intereſt

CHAP. LXIV. 1665.

intereſt: He thought, that if the Engliſh had once eſtabliſhed an uncontroulable dominion over the ſea and over commerce, they would ſoon be able to render his acquiſitions a very dear purchaſe to him. When de Lionne, the French ſecretary, aſſured Van Beuninghen, ambaſſador of the States, that this offer had been preſſed on his maſter during ſix months, "I can readily believe it," replied the Dutchman; "I am ſenſible that it is the in-"tereſt of England[1]."

SUCH were the eſtabliſhed maxims at that time with regard to the intereſts of princes. It muſt however be allowed, that the politics of Charles, in making this offer, were not a little hazardous. The extreme weakneſs of Spain would have rendered the French conqueſts eaſy and infallible; but the vigour of the Dutch, it might be foreſeen, would make the ſucceſs of the Engliſh much more precarious. And even were the naval force of Holland totally annihilated, the acquiſition of the Dutch commerce to England could not be relied on as a certain conſequence; nor is trade a conſtant attendant of power, but depends on many other, and ſome of them very delicate, circumſtances.

THOUGH the king of France was reſolved to ſupport the Hollanders in that unequal conteſt, in which they were engaged; he yet protracted his declaration, and employed the time in naval preparations, both in the ocean and the Mediterranean. The king of Denmark mean while was reſolved not to remain an idle ſpectator of the conteſt between the maritime powers. The part which he acted was the moſt extraordinary: He made a ſecret agreement with Charles to ſeize all the Dutch ſhips in his harbours, and to ſhare the ſpoils with the Engliſh, provided they would aſſiſt him in executing this meaſure. In order to encreaſe his prey, he perfidiouſly invited the

[1] D'Eſtrades, 14th Auguſt, 1665.

CHAP. LXIV.

1665. Dutch to take ſhelter in his ports; and accordingly the East India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen. Sandwich, who now commanded the Engliſh navy (the duke having gone aſhore) diſpatched Sir Thomas Tiddiman with a ſquadron to attack them; but whether from the king of Denmark's delay in ſending orders to the governor, or, what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavouring to engroſs the whole booty, the Engliſh admiral, though he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpoſe. The Daniſh governor fired upon him; and the Dutch, having had leiſure to fortify themſelves, made a gallant reſiſtance.

3d Auguſt.

Rupture with Denmark.

THE king of Denmark, ſeemingly aſhamed of his conduct, concluded with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy, an offenſive alliance againſt the States; and at the very ſame time, his reſident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offenſive alliance againſt England. To this laſt alliance he adhered, probably from jealouſy of the encreaſing naval power of England; and he ſeized and confiſcated all the Engliſh ſhips in his harbours. This was a ſenſible check to the advantages, which Charles had obtained over the Dutch. Not only a great blow was given to the Engliſh commerce; the king of Denmark's naval force was alſo conſiderable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That prince ſtipulated to aſſiſt his allies with a fleet of thirty ſail; and he received in return a yearly ſubſidy of 1,500,000 crowns, of which 300,000 were paid by France.

THE king endeavoured to counterbalance theſe confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies. He had diſpatched Sir Richard Fanſhaw into Spain, who met with a very cold reception. That monarchy was ſunk into a ſtate of weakneſs, and was menaced with an invaſion from France; yet could not any motive prevail with

CHAP. LXIV. 1665.

Philip to enter into cordial friendſhip with England. Charles's alliance with Portugal, the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers, the ſale of Dunkirk to the French; all theſe offences ſunk ſo deep into the mind of the Spaniſh monarch, that no motive of intereſt was ſufficient to outweigh them.

THE biſhop of Munſter was the only ally that Charles could acquire. That prelate, a man of reſtleſs enterprize and ambition, had entertained a violent animoſity againſt the States; and he was eaſily engaged, by the promiſe of ſubſidies from England, to make an incurſion on that republic. With a tumultuary army of near 20,000 men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak reſiſtance. The land forces of the States were as feeble and ill-governed, as their fleets were gallant and formidable. But after his committing great ravages in ſeveral of the provinces, a ſtop was put to the progreſs of this warlike prelate. He had not military ſkill ſufficient to improve the advantages which fortune had put into his hands: The king of France ſent a body of 6000 men to oppoſe him: Subſidies were not regularly remitted him from England; and many of his troops deſerted for want of pay: The elector of Brandenburgh threatened him with an invaſion in his own ſtate: And on the whole, he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the firſt ſurmiſe of his intentions, Sir William Temple was ſent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance; but found, that he arrived too late.

THE Dutch, encouraged by all theſe favourable circumſtances, continued reſolute to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in their own defence. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from his expedition to Guinea: Their Indian fleet was come home in ſafety: Their harbours were crowded with merchant ſhips: Faction at home was appeaſed: The young prince of Orange had

CHAP. LXIV.

1665. put himself under the tuition of the States of Holland, and of de Wit, their pensionary, who executed his trust with honour and fidelity: And the animosity, which the Hollanders entertained against the attack of the English, so unprovoked, as they thought it, made them thirst for revenge, and hope for better success in their next enterprize. Such vigour was exerted in the common cause, that, in order the better to man the fleet, all merchant ships were prohibited to sail, and even the fisheries were suspended [m].

THE English likewise continued in the same disposition, though another more grievous calamity had joined itself to that of war. The plague had broken out in London; and that with such violence as to cut off, in a

10th Octob. year, near 90,000 inhabitants. The king was obliged to summon the parliament at Oxford.

New session. A GOOD agreement still subsisted between the king and parliament. They, on their part, unanimously voted him the supply demanded, twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be levied in two years by monthly assessments. And he, to gratify them, passed the five-mile-act, which has given occasion to such grievous and such just complaints. The church, under pretence of guarding monarchy against its inveterate enemies, persevered in the project of wreaking her own enmity against the nonconformists. It was enacted, that no dissenting teacher, who took not the non-resistance oath above mentioned, should, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had preached after the act of oblivion. The penalty was a fine of fifty pounds, and six months imprisonment. By ejecting the nonconformist ministers from their churches, and prohibiting all separate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of gaining any livelihood by their spiritual pro-

Five-mile-act.

[m] Tromp's life. D'Estrades, 5th of February 1665.

session.

CHAP. LXIV.

1665.

session. And now, under colour of removing them from places, where their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of subsistence. Had not the spirit of the nation undergone a change, these violences were preludes to the most furious persecution.

However prevalent the hierarchy, this law did not pass without opposition. Besides several peers, attached to the old parliamentary party, Southampton himself, though Clarendon's great friend, expressed his disapprobation of these measures. But the church party, not discouraged with this opposition, introduced into the house of commons a bill for imposing the oath of nonresistance on the whole nation. It was rejected only by three voices. The parliament, after a short session, was prorogued. 31st October.

1666.

After France had declared war, England was evidently overmatched in force. Yet she possessed this advantage by her situation, that she lay between the fleets of her enemies, and might be able, by speedy and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But such was the unhappy conduct of her commanders, or such the want of intelligence in her ministers, that this circumstance turned rather to her prejudice. Lewis had given orders to the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to sail from Toulon; and the French squadron, under his command, consisting of above forty sail [n], was now commonly supposed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of seventy-six sail, was at sea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which exceeded not seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who, from his successes under the protector,

[n] D'Estrades, 21st of May 1666.

had

CHAP. LXIV.

1666.

had too much learned to despise the enemy, proposed to detach prince Rupert with twenty ships, in order to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Aysçue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter, protested against the temerity of this resolution: But Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the English set sail to give battle to the Dutch; who, seeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle that ensued, is one of the most memorable, that we read of in story; whether we consider its long duration, or the desperate courage, with which it was fought. Albemarle made here some atonement by his valour for the rashness of the attempt. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himself more than did this man, who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the summit of honours. We shall not enter minutely into particulars. It will be sufficient to mention the chief events of each day's engagement.

Sea fight of four days.

1st June.

In the first day, Sir William Berkeley, vice-admiral, leading the van, fell into the thickest of the enemy, was over-powered, and his ship taken. He himself was found dead in his cabbin, all covered with blood. The English had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew so high, that they could not use their lower tire, they derived but small advantage from this circumstance. The Dutch shot, however, fell chiefly on their sails and rigging; and few ships were sunk or much damaged. Chain-shot was at that time a new invention; commonly attributed to de Wit. Sir John Harman exerted himself extremely on this day. The Dutch admiral, Evertz, was killed in engaging him. Darkness parted the combatants.

The second day, the wind was somewhat fallen, and the combat became more steddy and more terrible. The English

CHAP. LXIV.

1666.

Engliſh now found, that the moſt heroic valour cannot compenſate for the ſuperiority of numbers, againſt an enemy who is well conducted, and who is not defective in courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, rivals in glory and enemies from faction, exerted themſelves in emulation of each other; and de Ruyter had the advantage of diſengaging and ſaving his antagoniſt, who had been ſurrounded by the Engliſh, and was in the moſt imminent danger. Sixteen freſh ſhips joined the Dutch fleet during the action: And the Engliſh were ſo ſhattered, that their fighting ſhips were reduced to twenty-eight, and they found themſelves obliged to retreat towards their own coaſt. The Duch followed them, and were on the point of renewing the combat; when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the engagement.

NEXT morning, the Engliſh were obliged to continue their retreat; and a proper diſpoſition was made for that purpoſe. The ſhattered ſhips were ordered to ſtretch ahead; and ſixteen of the moſt entire followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Albemarle himſelf cloſed the rear, and preſented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The earl of Oſſory, ſon of Ormond, a gallant youth, who ſought honour and danger in every action throughout Europe, was then on board the Admiral. Albemarle confeſſed to him his intention rather to blow up his ſhip and periſh glorioufly, than yield to the enemy. Oſſory applauded this deſperate reſolution.

ABOUT two o'clock, the Dutch had come up with their enemy, and were ready to renew the fight; when a new fleet was deſcried from the ſouth, crowding all their ſail to reach the ſcene of action. The Dutch flattered themſelves that Beaufort was arrived, to cut off the retreat of the vanquiſhed: The Engliſh hoped, that prince Rupert had come, to turn the ſcale of action. Albemarle, who

CHAP. LXIV. 1666.

who had received intelligence of the prince's approach, bent his courſe towards him. Unhappily, Sir George Ayſcue, in a ſhip of a hundred guns, the largeſt in the fleet, ſtruck on the Galloper ſands, and could receive no aſſiſtance from his friends, who were haſtening to join the reinforcement. He could not even reap the conſolation of periſhing with honour, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing fireſhips to attack him, and he was obliged to ſtrike. The Engliſh ſailors, ſeeing the neceſſity, with the utmoſt indignation ſurrendered themſelves priſoners.

ALBEMARLE and prince Rupert were now determined to face the enemy; and next morning, the battle began afreſh, with more equal force than ever, and with equal valour. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a cloſe combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a miſt. The Engliſh retired firſt into their harbours.

THOUGH the Engliſh, by their obſtinate courage, reaped the chief honour in this engagement, it is ſomewhat uncertain, who obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ſhips; and having ſome appearances of advantage, expreſſed their ſatisfaction by all the ſigns of triumph and rejoicing. But as the Engliſh fleet was repaired in a little time, and put to ſea more formidable than ever, together with many of thoſe ſhips, which the Dutch had boaſted to have burned or deſtroyed; all Europe ſaw, that thoſe two brave nations were engaged in a conteſt, which was not likely, on either ſide, to prove deciſive.

IT was the conjunction alone of the French, that could give a deciſive ſuperiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, de Ruyter, having repaired his fleet, poſted himſelf at the mouth of the Thames. The Engliſh, under prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long

long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty ſail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the ſeamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obſtinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white ſquadron of the Engliſh, attacked the Dutch van, which he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was ſeparated from de Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or deſign was never certainly known. De Ruyter, with conduct and valour, maintained the combat againſt the main body of the Engliſh; and though overpowered by numbers, kept his ſtation, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet ſcattered and diſcouraged, his high ſpirit ſubmitted to a retreat, which yet he conducted with ſuch ſkill, as to render it equally honourable to himſelf as the greateſt victory. Full of indignation however for yielding the ſuperiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I? among ſo "many thouſand bullets, is there not one to put an end "to my miſerable life?" One de Witte, his ſon-in-law, who ſtood near, exhorted him, ſince he ſought death, to turn upon the Engliſh, and render his life a dear purchaſe to the victors. But de Ruyter eſteemed it more worthy a brave man to perſevere to the uttermoſt, and, as long as poſſible, to render ſervice to his country. All that night and next day, the Engliſh preſſed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of de Ruyter, that the latter ſaved themſelves in their harbours.

CHAP. LXIV. 1666. 25th July. Victory of the Engliſh.

THE loſs, ſuſtained by the Hollanders in this action, was not very conſiderable; but as violent animoſities had broken out between the two admirals, who engaged all the officers on one ſide or other, the conſternation, which took

CHAP. LXIV.

1666.

took place, was great among the provinces. Tromp's commiſſion was at laſt taken from him; but though ſeveral captains had miſbehaved, they were ſo effectually protected by their friends in the magiſtracy of the towns, that moſt of them eſcaped puniſhment, many were ſtill continued in their commands.

The Engliſh now rode inconteſtible maſters of the ſea, and inſulted the Dutch in their harbours. A detachment under Holmes was ſent into the road of Vlie, and burned a hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, together with Brandaris, a large and rich village on the coaſt. The Dutch merchants, who loſt by this enterprize, uniting themſelves to the Orange faction, exclaimed againſt an adminiſtration, which, they pretended, had brought ſuch diſgrace and ruin on their country. None but the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit could have ſupported itſelf under ſuch a complication of calamities.

The king of France, apprehenſive that the Dutch would ſink under their misfortunes; at leaſt, that de Wit, his friend, might be diſpoſſeſſed of the adminiſtration, haſtened the advance of the duke of Beaufort. The Dutch fleet likewiſe was again equipped; and under the command of de Ruyter, cruiſed near the ſtraits of Dover. Prince Rupert with the Engliſh navy, now ſtronger than ever, came full ſail upon them. The Dutch admiral thought proper to decline the combat, and retired into St. John's road near Bulloigne. Here he ſheltered himſelf, both from the Engliſh, and from a furious ſtorm, which aroſe. Prince Rupert too was obliged to retire into St. Helens; where he ſtayed ſome time, in order to repair the damages, which he had ſuſtained. Mean while the duke of Beaufort proceeded up the channel, and paſſed the Engliſh fleet unperceived; but he did not find the Dutch, as he expected. De Ruyter had been ſeized with a fever: Many of the chief officers had fallen into ſickneſs;

CHAP. LXIV.

1666.

ſickneſs: A contagious diſtemper was ſpread through the fleet: And the States thought it neceſſary to recall them into their harbours, before the enemy ſhould be refitted. The French king, anxious for his navy, which, with ſo much care and induſtry, he had lately built, diſpatched orders to Beaufort, to make the beſt of his way to Breſt. That admiral had again the good fortune to paſs the Engliſh. One ſhip alone, the Ruby, fell into the hands of the enemy.

3d Sept. Fire of London.

WHILE the war continued without any deciſive ſucceſs on either ſide, a calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great conſternation. Fire, breaking out in a baker's houſe near the bridge, ſpread itſelf on all ſides with ſuch rapidity, that no efforts could extinguiſh it, till it laid in aſhes a conſiderable part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to do any thing effectual for their relief, were reduced to be ſpectators of their own ruin; and were purſued from ſtreet to ſtreet by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houſes, that it was at laſt extinguiſhed. The king and duke uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the flames; but all their induſtry was unſucceſsful. About four hundred ſtreets, and thirteen thouſand houſes were reduced to aſhes.

THE cauſes of this calamity were evident. The narrow ſtreets of London, the houſes built intirely of wood, the dry ſeaſon, and a violent eaſt wind which blew; theſe were ſo many concurring circumſtances, which rendered it eaſy to aſſign the reaſon of the deſtruction that enſued. But the people were not ſatisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, ſome aſcribed the guilt to the republicans, others to the catholics;

CHAP. LXIV.

1666.

lics; though it is not eaſy to conceive how the burning of London could ſerve the purpoſes of either party. As the papiſts were the chief objects of public deteſtation, the rumour, which threw the guilt on them, was more favourably received by the people. No proof however, or even preſumption, after the ſtricteſt enquiry by a committee of parliament, ever appeared to authorize ſuch a calumny; yet in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inſcription, engraved by authority on the monument, aſcribed this calamity to that hated ſect. This clauſe was erazed by order of king James, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obſtinate, are the people, in believing every thing, which flatters their prevailing paſſion!

THE fire of London, though at that time a great calamity, has proved in the iſſue beneficial both to the city and the kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very little time; and care was taken to make the ſtreets wider and more regular than before. A diſcretionary power was aſſumed by the king to regulate the diſtribution of the buildings, and to forbid the uſe of lath and timber, the materials, of which the houſes were formerly compoſed. The neceſſity was ſo urgent, and the occaſion ſo extraordinary, that no exceptions were taken at an exerciſe of authority, which otherwiſe might have been deemed illegal. Had the king been enabled to carry his power ſtill farther, and made the houſes be rebuilt with perfect regularity, and entirely upon one plan; he had much contributed to the convenience, as well as embelliſhment of the city. Great advantages, however, have reſulted from the alterations; though not carried to the full length. London became much more healthy after the fire. The plague, which uſed to break out with great

fury twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in some corner or other of the city, has scarcely ever appeared since that calamity. CHAP. LXIV. 1666.

THE parliament met soon after, and gave the sanction of law to those regulations made by royal authority; as well as appointed commissioners for deciding all such questions of property, as might arise from the fire. They likewise voted a supply of 1,800,000 pounds to be levied, partly by a poll-bill, partly by assessments. Though their enquiry brought out no proofs, which could fix on the papists the burning of London, the general aversion against that sect still prevailed; and complaints were made, probably without much foundation, of its dangerous encrease. Charles, at the desire of the commons, issued a proclamation for the banishment of all priests and jesuits; but the bad execution of this, as well as of former edicts, destroyed all confidence in his sincerity, whenever he pretended an aversion towards the catholic religion. Whether suspicions of this nature had diminished the king's popularity, is uncertain; but it appears, that the supply was voted much later than Charles expected, or even than the public necessities seemed to require. The intrigues of the duke of Buckingham, a man who wanted only steadiness to render him extremely dangerous, had somewhat embarrassed the measures of the court: And this was the first time that the king found any considerable reason to complain of a failure of confidence in this house of commons. The rising symptoms of ill humour tended, no doubt, to quicken the steps, which were already making towards a peace with foreign enemies.

CHARLES began to be sensible, that all the ends, for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove entirely ineffectual. The Dutch, even when alone, had defended themselves with vigor, and were every day Advances towards peace.

CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

improving in their military skill and preparations. Though their trade had suffered extremely, their extensive credit enabled them to levy great sums; and while the seamen of England loudly complained for want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly supplied with money and every thing requisite for its subsistence. As two powerful kings now supported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coasts of Bayonne, was become hostile to the English. And Charles, neither fond of action, nor stimulated by any violent ambition, earnestly sought for means of restoring tranquillity to his people, disgusted with a war, which, being joined with the plague and fire, had proved so fruitless and destructive.

The first advances towards an accommodation were made by England. When the king sent for the body of Sir William Berkeley, he insinuated to the States his desire of peace on reasonable terms; and their answer corresponded in the same amicable intentions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of superiority, still insisted, that the States should treat at London; and they agreed to make him this compliment so far as concerned themselves: But being engaged in alliance with two crowned heads, they could not, they said, prevail with these to depart in that respect from their dignity. On a sudden, the king went so far on the other side as to offer the sending of ambassadors to the Hague; but this proposal, which seemed honourable to the Dutch, was meant only to divide and distract them, by affording the English an opportunity to carry on cabals with the disaffected party. The offer was therefore rejected; and conferences were secretly held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, where the pretensions of both parties were discussed. The Dutch made equitable proposals; either that all things should be restored to the same condition in which they stood before the war; or that both

parties

parties ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of their preſent acquiſitions. Charles accepted the latter propoſal; and almoſt every thing was adjuſted, except the diſputes with regard to the iſle of Polerone. This iſland lies in the Eaſt Indies, and was formerly valuable for its produce of ſpices. The Engliſh had been maſters of it; but were diſpoſſeſſed at the time when the violences had been committed againſt them at Amboyna. Cromwel had ſtipulated to have it reſtored; and the Hollanders, having firſt entirely deſtroyed all the ſpice trees, maintained, that they had executed the treaty, but that the Engliſh had been anew expelled during the courſe of the war. Charles renewed his pretenſions to this iſland; and as the reaſons on both ſides began to multiply, and ſeemed to require a long diſcuſſion, it was agreed to transfer the treaty to ſome other place; and Charles made choice of Breda. CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

LORD HOLLIS and Henry Coventry were the Engliſh ambaſſadors. They immediately deſired, that a ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be agreed to, till the ſeveral claims could be adjuſted: But this propoſal, ſeemingly ſo natural, was rejected by the credit of de Wit. That penetrating and active miniſter, thoroughly acquainted with the characters of princes and the ſituation of affairs, had diſcovered an opportunity of ſtriking a blow, which might at once reſtore to the Dutch the honour loſt during the war, and ſeverely revenge thoſe injuries, which he aſcribed to the wanton ambition and injuſtice of the Engliſh.

WHATEVER projects might have been formed by Charles for ſecreting the money granted him by parliament, he had hitherto failed in his intention. The expences of ſuch vaſt armaments had exhauſted all the ſupplies °; and even a great debt was contracted to the ſeamen.

° The Dutch had ſpent on the war near 40 millions of livres a year, above three millions ſterling: A much greater ſum than had been granted by the

CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

seamen. The king therefore was resolved to save, as far as possible, the last supply of 1,800,000 pounds; and to employ it for payment of his debts, as well those which had been occasioned by the war, as those which either necessity, or pleasure, or generosity had formerly engaged him to contract. He observed, that the Dutch had been with great reluctance forced into the war, and that the events of it were not such as to inspire them with great desire of its continuance. The French, he knew, had been engaged into hostilities by no other motive than that of supporting their allies; and were now more desirous than ever of putting an end to the quarrel. The differences between the parties were so inconsiderable, that the conclusion of peace appeared infallible; and nothing but forms, at least some vain points of honour, seemed to remain for the ambassadors at Breda to discuss. In this situation, Charles, allured by the prospect of gain, rashly remitted his preparations, and exposed England to one of the greatest affronts, which it has ever received. Two small squadrons alone were equipped; and during a war with such potent and martial enemies, every thing was left almost in the same situation as in times of the most profound tranquillity.

De Wit protracted the negotiations at Breda, and hastened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of de Ruyter, and threw the English into the utmost consternation. A chain had been drawn across the river Medway; some fortifications had been added to Sheerness and Upnore castle: But all these preparations were unequal to the present necessity. Sheerness was soon taken; nor could it be saved by the valour of Sir Edward Sprague, who

English parliament. D'Estrades, 24th of December, 1665; 1st of January, 1666. Temple, vol. i. p. 71. It was probably the want of money which engaged the king to pay the seamen with tickets; a contrivance which proved so much to their loss.

defended

CHAP. LXIV.

1667. 10th June. Disgrace at Chatham.

defended it. Having the advantage of a spring tide, and an easterly wind, the Dutch pressed on, and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships, which had been there sunk by order of the duke of Albemarle. They burned the three ships, which lay to guard the chain, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the fifth. After damaging several vessels, and possessing themselves of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the English had burned, they advanced with six men of war, and five fire-ships, as far as Upnore castle, where they burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, perished in the flames, though he had an easy opportunity of escaping. "Never was it known," he said, "that a Douglas had left his post without orders[p]." The Hollanders fell down the Medway without receiving any considerable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tide sail up the Thames, and extend their hostilities even to the bridge of London. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall: Platforms were raised in many places, furnished with artillery: The train bands were called out; and every place was in a violent agitation. The Dutch sailed next to Portsmouth, where they made a fruitless attempt: They met with no better success at Plymouth: They insulted Harwich: They sailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulsed. The whole coast was in alarm; and had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet, and to invade England, consequences the most fatal might justly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to push the victory to such extremities. His interest required, that a balance should be kept between the two maritime powers; not that an uncontrouled superiority should be given to either.

[p] Temple, vol. ii. p. 41.

CHAP. LXIV.

1667.

GREAT indignation prevailed amongſt the Engliſh, to ſee an enemy, whom they regarded as inferior, whom they had expected totally to ſubdue, and over whom they had gained many honourable advantages, now of a ſudden ride undiſputed maſters of the ocean, burn their ſhips in their very harbours, fill every place with confuſion, and ſtrike a terror into the capital itſelf. But though the cauſe of all theſe diſaſters could be aſcribed neither to bad fortune, to the miſconduct of admirals, nor to the miſbehaviour of ſeamen, but ſolely to the avarice, at leaſt to the improvidence, of the government; no dangerous ſymptoms of diſcontent appeared, and no attempt for an inſurrection was made by any of thoſe numerous ſectaries, who had been ſo openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who upon that ſuppoſition had been treated with ſuch ſeverity [q].

IN the preſent diſtreſs, two expedients were embraced: An army of 12,000 men was ſuddenly levied; and the parliament, though it lay under prorogation, was ſummoned to meet. The houſes were very thin; and the only vote, which the commons paſſed, was an addreſs for breaking the army; which was complied with. This expreſſion of jealouſy ſhewed the court what they might expect from that aſſembly; and it was thought moſt prudent to prorogue them till next winter.

10th July. Peace of Breda.

BUT the ſigning of the treaty at Breda extricated the king from his preſent difficulties. The Engliſh ambaſſadors received orders to recede from thoſe demands, which, however frivolous in themſelves, could not now be relinquiſhed, without acknowledging a ſuperiority in the enemy. Polerone remained with the Dutch; ſatisfaction

[q] Some nonconformiſts however, both in Scotland and England, had kept a correſpondence with the States, and had entertained projects for inſurrections, but they were too weak even to attempt the execution of them. D'Eſtrades, 13th of October, 1665.

for

for the ships, Bonaventure and Goodhope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer insisted on; Acadie was yielded to the French. The acquisition of New-York, a settlement so important by its situation, was the chief advantage which the English reaped from a war, in which the national character of bravery had shone out with lustre, but where the misconduct of the government, especially in the conclusion, had been no less apparent. CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

To appease the people by some sacrifice seemed requisite before the meeting of parliament; and the prejudices of the nation pointed out the victim. The chancellor was at this time much exposed to the hatred of the public, and of every party, which divided the nation. All the numerous sectaries regarded him as their determined enemy; and ascribed to his advice and influence, those persecuting laws, to which they had lately been exposed. The catholics knew, that while he retained any authority, all their credit with the king and the duke would be entirely useless to them, nor must they ever expect any favour or indulgence. Even the royalists, disappointed in their sanguine hopes of preferment, threw a great load of envy on Clarendon, into whose hands the king seemed at first to have resigned the whole power of government. The sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, the disgrace at Chatham, the unsuccessful conclusion of the war; all these misfortunes were charged on the chancellor, who, though he had ever opposed the rupture with Holland, thought it still his duty to justify what he could not prevent. A building, likewise, of more expence and magnificence than his slender fortune could afford, being unwarily undertaken by him, much exposed him to public reproach, as if he had acquired great riches by corruption. The populace gave it commonly the appellation of Dunkirk House. Clarendon's fall.

CHAP. LXIV.

1667.

THE king himself, who had always more revered than loved the chancellor, was now totally estranged from him. Amidst the dissolute manners of the court, that minister still maintained an inflexible dignity, and would not submit to any condescensions, which he deemed unworthy of his age and character. Buckingham, a man of profligate morals, happy in his talent for ridicule, but exposed in his own conduct to all the ridicule, which he threw on others, still made him the object of his raillery, and gradually lessened in the king that regard, which he bore to his minister. When any difficulties arose, either for want of power or money, the blame was still thrown on him, who, it was believed, had carefully at the restoration checked all lavish concessions to the king. And what perhaps touched Charles more nearly, he found in Clarendon, it is said, obstacles to his pleasures as well as to his ambition.

THE king, disgusted with the homely person of his consort, and desirous of having children, had hearkened to proposals of obtaining a divorce, on pretence either of her being pre-engaged to another, or of having made a vow of chastity before her marriage. He was farther stimulated by his passion for Mrs. Stuart, daughter of a Scotch gentleman; a lady of great beauty, and whose virtue he had hitherto found impregnable: But Clarendon, apprehensive of the consequences attending a disputed title, and perhaps anxious for the succession of his grandchildren, engaged the duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and thereby put an end to the king's hopes. It is pretended, that Charles never forgave this disappointment.

WHEN politics, therefore, and inclination both concurred to make the king sacrifice Clarendon to popular prejudices, the memory of his past services was not able any

CHAP. LXIV.

1667.

any longer to delay his fall. The great seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, under the title of Lord Keeper. Southampton the treasurer was now dead, who had persevered to the utmost in his attachments to the chancellor. The last time he appeared at the council table, he exerted his friendship with a vigour, which neither age nor infirmities could abate. "This "man," said he, speaking of Clarendon, "is a true "protestant, and an honest Englishman; and while he "enjoys power, we are secure of our laws, liberties, and "religion. I dread the consequences of his removal."

But the fall of the chancellor was not sufficient to gratify the malice of his enemies: His total ruin was resolved on. The duke of York in vain exerted his interest in behalf of his father-in-law. Both prince and people united in promoting that violent measure; and no means were thought so proper for ingratiating the court with a parliament, which had so long been governed by that very minister, who was now to be the victim of their prejudices.

Some popular acts paved the way for the session; and the parliament, in their first address, gave the king thanks for these instances of his goodness, and among the rest, they took care to mention his dismission of Clarendon. The king, in reply, assured the houses, that he would never again employ that nobleman in any public office whatsoever. Immediately, the charge against him was opened in the house of commons by Mr. Seymour, afterwards Sir Edward, and consisted of seventeen articles. The house, without examining particulars, farther than hearing general affirmations, that all would be proved, immediately voted his impeachment. Many of the articles [r] we know to be either false or frivolous; and such of them, as we are less acquainted with, we may fairly pre-

[r] See note [M] at the end of the volume.

sume

CHAP. LXIV.

1667.

sume to be no better grounded. His adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk, ſeems the heavieſt and trueſt part of the charge; but a miſtake in judgment, allowing it to be ſuch, where there appears no ſymptoms of corruption or bad intentions, it would be very hard to impute as a crime to any miniſter. The king's neceſſities, which occaſioned that meaſure, cannot with any appearance of reaſon be charged on Clarendon; and chiefly proceeded from the over-frugal maxims of the parliament itſelf, in not granting the proper ſupplies to the crown.

WHEN the impeachment was carried up to the peers, as it contained an accuſation of treaſon in general, without ſpecifying any particulars, it ſeemed not a ſufficient ground for committing Clarendon to cuſtody. The precedents of Strafford and Laud were not, by reaſon of the violence of the times, deemed a proper authority; but as the commons ſtill inſiſted upon his commitment, it was neceſſary to appoint a free conference between the houſes. The lords perſevered in their reſolution; and the commons voted this conduct to be an obſtruction to public juſtice, and a precedent of evil and dangerous conſequence. They alſo choſe a committee to draw up a vindication of their own proceedings.

CLARENDON, finding that the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, ran with impetuoſity againſt him, and that a defence, offered to ſuch prejudiced ears, would be entirely ineffectual, thought proper to withdraw. At Calais, he wrote a paper addreſſed to the houſe of lords. He there ſaid, that his fortune, which was but moderate, had been gained entirely by the lawful, avowed profits of his office, and by the voluntary bounty of the king; that during the firſt years after the reſtoration he had always concurred in opinion with the other councellors, men of ſuch reputation that no one could entertain ſuſpicions of their wiſdom or integrity; that his credit

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soon declined, and however he might disapprove of some measures, he found it vain to oppose them; that his repugnance to the Dutch war, the source of all the public grievances, was always generally known, as well as his disapprobation of many unhappy steps taken in conducting it; and that whatever pretence might be made of public offences, his real crime, that which had exasperated his powerful enemies, was his frequent opposition to exorbitant grants, which the importunity of suitors had extorted from his majesty. CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

THE lords transmitted this paper to the commons under the appellation of a libel; and by a vote of both houses, it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The parliament next proceeded to exert their legislative power against Clarendon, and passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, which received the royal assent. He retired into France, where he lived in a private manner. He survived his banishment six years; and he employed his leisure chiefly in reducing into order the History of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. The performance does honour to his memory; and, except Whitlocke's Memorials, is the most candid account of those times, composed by any cotemporary author. Clarendon's banishment.

CLARENDON was always a friend to the liberty and constitution of his country. At the commencement of the civil wars, he had entered into the late king's service, and was honoured with a great share in the esteem and friendship of that monarch: He was pursued with unrelenting animosity by the Long Parliament: He had shared all the fortunes and directed all the counsels of the present king during his exile: He had been advanced to the highest trust and offices after the restoration: Yet all these circumstances, which might naturally operate with such force, either on resentment, gratitude, or ambition, had

no

CHAP. LXIV.

1667.

no influence on his uncorrupted mind. It is said, that when he first engaged in the study of the law, his father exhorted him with great earnestness to shun the practice too common in that profession, of straining every point in favour of prerogative, and perverting so useful a science to the oppression of liberty: And in the midst of these rational and virtuous counsels, which he re-iterated, he was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, and expired in his son's presence. This circumstance gave additional weight to the principles, which he inculcated.

THE combination of king and subject to oppress so good a minister affords, to men of opposite dispositions, an equal occasion of inveighing against the ingratitude of princes, or ignorance of the people. Charles seems never to have mitigated his resentment against Clarendon; and the national prejudices pursued him to his retreat in France. A company of English soldiers, being quartered near him, assaulted his house, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the last extremity, had not their officers, hearing of the violence, happily interposed.

1668.

THE next expedient, which the king embraced, in order to acquire popularity, is more deserving of praise; and, had it been steadily pursued, would probably have rendered his reign happy, certainly his memory respected. It is the Triple Alliance of which I speak; a measure, which gave entire satisfaction to the public.

State of France.

THE glory of France, which had long been eclipsed, either by domestic factions, or by the superior force of the Spanish monarchy, began now to break out with great lustre, and to engage the attention of the neighbouring nations. The independent power and mutinous spirit of the nobility were subdued: The popular pretensions of the parliament restrained: The Hugonot party reduced to subjection:

subjection: That extensive and fertile country, enjoying every advantage both of climate and situation, was fully peopled with ingenious and industrious inhabitants: And while the spirit of the nation discovered all the vigour and bravery requisite for great enterprizes, it was tamed to an entire submission under the will of the sovereign. CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

THE sovereign, who now filled the throne, was well adapted, by his personal character, both to increase and to avail himself of these advantages. Lewis XIV. endowed with every quality, which could enchant the people, possessed many which merit the approbation of the wise. The masculine beauty of his person was embellished with a noble air: The dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeness: Elegant without effeminacy, addicted to pleasure without neglecting business, decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midst of arbitrary power; he surpassed all cotemporary monarchs, as in grandeur, so likewise in fame and glory. Character of Lewis XIV.

HIS ambition, regulated by prudence, not by justice, had carefully provided every means of conquest; and before he put himself in motion, he seemed to have absolutely ensured success. His finances were brought into order: A naval power created: His armies encreased and disciplined: Magazines and military stores provided: And though the magnificence of his court was supported beyond all former example, so regular was the œconomy observed, and so willingly did the people, now enriched by arts and commerce, submit to multiplied taxes, that his military force much exceeded what in any preceding age had ever been employed by any European monarch.

THE sudden decline and almost total fall of the Spanish monarchy opened an inviting field to so enterprising a prince, and seemed to promise him an easy and universal conquest. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill-governed, were astonished at the greatness of his rising

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

empire; and all of them cast their eyes towards England, as the only power, which could save them from that subjection, with which they seemed to be so nearly threatened.

THE animosity, which had anciently subsisted between the English and French nations, and which had been suspended for above a century by the jealousy of Spanish greatness, began to revive and to exert itself. The glory of preserving the balance of Europe, a glory so much founded on justice and humanity, flattered the ambition of England; and the people were eager to provide for their own future security, by opposing the progress of so hated a rival. The prospect of embracing such measures had contributed, among other reasons, to render the peace of Breda so universally acceptable to the nation. By the death of Philip IV. king of Spain, an inviting opportunity, and some very slender pretences, had been afforded to call forth the ambition of Lewis.

AT the treaty of the Pyrenees, when Lewis espoused the Spanish princess, he had renounced every title of succession to every part of the Spanish monarchy; and this renunciation had been couched in the most accurate and most precise terms, which language could afford. But on the death of his father-in-law, he retracted his renunciation, and pretended, that natural rights, depending on blood and succession, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a son, Charles II. of Spain; but as the queen of France was of a former marriage, she laid claim to a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy, even to the exclusion of her brother. By the customs of some parts of Brabant, a female of a first marriage was preferred to a male of a second, in the succession to private inheritances; and Lewis thence inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the dominion of that important dutchy.

A CLAIM

CHAP. LXIV.

1668. French invasion of the Low Countries.

A CLAIM of this nature was more properly supported by military force than by argument and reasoning. Lewis appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands with an army of 40,000 men, commanded by the best generals of the age, and provided with every thing necessary for action. The Spaniards, though they might have foreseen this measure, were totally unprepared. Their towns, without magazines, fortifications, or garrisons, fell into the hands of the French king, as soon as he presented himself before them. Athe, Lisle, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Charleroi, Binche were immediately taken: And it was visible, that no force in the Low Countries was able to stop or retard the progress of the French arms.

THIS measure, executed with such celerity and success, gave great alarm to almost every court in Europe. It had been observed with what dignity, or even haughtiness, Lewis, from the time he began to govern, had ever supported all his rights and pretensions. D'Estrades, the French ambassador, and Watteville, the Spanish, having quarrelled in London, on account of their claims for precedency, the French monarch was not satisfied, till Spain sent to Paris a solemn embassy, and promised never more to revive such contests. Crequi, his ambassador at Rome, had met with an affront from the pope's guards: The pope, Alexander VII. had been constrained to break his guards, to send his nephew to ask pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itself, as a monument of his own humiliation. The king of England too had experienced the high spirit and unsubmitting temper of Lewis. A pretension to superiority in the English flag having been advanced, the French monarch remonstrated with such vigour, and prepared himself to resist with such courage, that Charles found it more prudent to desist from his vain and antiquated claims. The king

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

king of England, said Lewis to his ambassador D'Estrades, may know my force, but he knows not the sentiments of my heart: Every thing appears to me contemptible in comparison of glory [s]. These measures of conduct had given strong indications of his character: But the invasion of Flanders discovered an ambition, which, being supported by such overgrown power, menaced the general liberties of Europe.

As no state lay nearer the danger, none was seized with more terror than the United Provinces. They were still engaged, together with France, in a war against England; and Lewis had promised them, that he would take no step against Spain without previously informing them: But, contrary to this assurance, he kept a total silence, till on the very point of entering upon action. If the renunciation, made at the treaty of the Pyrenees, was not valid, it was foreseen, that, upon the death of the king of Spain, a sickly infant, the whole monarchy would be claimed by Lewis; after which it would be vainly expected to set bounds to his pretensions. Charles, acquainted with these well-grounded apprehensions of the Dutch, had been the more obstinate in insisting on his own conditions at Breda; and by delaying to sign the treaty, had imprudently exposed himself to the signal disgrace, which he received at Chatham. De Wit, sensible, that a few weeks delay would be of no consequence in the Low Countries, took this opportunity of striking an important blow, and of finishing the war with honour to himself and to his country.

Negotiations.

NEGOTIATIONS meanwhile commenced for the saving of Flanders; but no resistance was made to the French arms. The Spanish ministers exclaimed every where against the flagrant injustice of Lewis's pretensions, and represented it to be the interest of every power in Europe,

[s] 25th of January, 1662.

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even more than of Spain itself, to prevent his conquest of the Low Countries. The emperor and the German princes discovered evident symptoms of discontent; but their motions were slow and backward. The States, tho' terrified at the prospect of having their frontier exposed to so formidable a foe, saw no resource, no means of safety. England indeed seemed disposed to make opposition to the French; but the variable and impolitic conduct of Charles kept that republic from making him any open advances, by which she might lose the friendship of France, without acquiring any new ally. And though Lewis, dreading a combination of all Europe, had offered terms of accommodation, the Dutch apprehended, lest these, either from the obstinacy of the Spaniards, or the ambition of the French, should never be carried into execution.

CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

CHARLES resolved with great prudence to take the first step towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his resident at Brussels, received orders to go secretly to the Hague, and to concert with the States the means of saving the Netherlands. This man, whom philosophy had taught to despise the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, sincere, superior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians: And meeting in de Wit with a man of the same generous and enlarged sentiments, he immediately opened his master's intentions, and pressed a speedy conclusion. A treaty was from the first negotiated between these two statesmen with the same cordiality, as if it were a private affair, transacted between intimate companions. Deeming the interests of their country the same, they gave full scope to that sympathy of character, which disposed them to an entire reliance on each other's professions and engagements. And though jealousy against the house of Orange might inspire de Wit with an aversion to a strict union with England, he generously resolved to sacrifice all private considerations to the public service.

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

TEMPLE insisted on an offensive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquish all her conquests: But de Wit told him, that this measure was too bold and precipitate to be agreed to by the States. He said, that the French were the old and constant allies of the republic; and till matters came to extremity, she never would deem it prudent to abandon a friendship so well established, and rely entirely on a treaty with England, which had lately waged so cruel a war against her: That ever since the reign of Elizabeth, there had been such a fluctuation in the English councils, that it was not possible, for two years together, to take any sure or certain measures with that kingdom: That though the present ministry, having entered into views so conformable to national interest, promised greater firmness and constancy, it might still be unsafe, in a business of such consequence, to put entire confidence in them: That the French monarch was young, haughty, and powerful; and if treated in so imperious a manner, would expose himself to the greatest extremities rather than submit: That it was sufficient, if he could be constrained to adhere to the offers, which he himself had already made; and if the remaining provinces of the Low Countries could be thereby saved from the danger, with which they were at present threatened: And that the other powers, in Germany and the north, whose assistance they might expect, would be satisfied with putting a stop to the French conquests, without pretending to recover the places already lost.

THE English minister was content to accept of the terms, proposed by the pensionary. Lewis had offered to relinquish all the queen's rights on condition either of keeping the conquests, which he had made last campaign, or of receiving, in lieu of them, Franchecomté, together with Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple

Temple founded their treaty upon this proposal. They agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept of it. If Spain refused, they agreed, that France should not prosecute her claim by arms, but leave it entirely to England and Holland to employ force for making the terms effectual. And the remainder of the Low Countries they thenceforth guaranteed to Spain. A defensive alliance was likewise concluded between Holland and England. CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

THE articles of this confederacy were soon adjusted by such candid and able negotiators: But the greatest difficulty still remained. By the constitution of the republic, all the towns in all the provinces must give their consent to every treaty; and besides that this formality could not be dispatched in less than two months, it was justly to be dreaded, that the influence of France would obstruct the passing of the treaty in some of the smaller cities. D'Estrades, the French ambassador, a man of ability, hearing of the league, which was on the carpet, treated it lightly; "Six weeks hence," said he, "we shall speak "to it." To obviate this difficulty, de Wit had the courage, for the public good, to break through the laws in so fundamental an article; and by his authority, he prevailed with the States General at once to sign and ratify the league: Though they acknowledged, that, if that measure should displease their constituents, they risqued their heads by this irregularity. After sealing, all parties embraced with great cordiality. Temple cried out, *At Breda, as friends: Here, as brothers.* And de Wit added, that now the matter was finished, it looked like a miracle. 13th Jan.

ROOM had been left in the treaty for the accession of Sweden, which was soon after obtained; and thus was concluded in five days the triple league; an event received Triple league.

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

with equal ſurpriſe and approbation by the world. Notwithſtanding the unfortunate concluſion of the laſt war, England now appeared in her proper ſtation, and, by this wiſe conduct, had recovered all her influence and credit in Europe. Temple likewiſe received great applauſe; but to all the compliments made him on that occaſion, he modeſtly replied, that to remove things from their center, or proper element, required force and labour; but that of themſelves they eaſily returned to it.

The French monarch was extremely diſpleaſed with this meaſure. Not only bounds were at preſent ſet to his ambition: Such a barrier was alſo raiſed as ſeemed for ever impregnable. And though his own offer was made the foundation of the treaty, he had preſcribed ſo ſhort a time for the acceptance of it, that he ſtill expected, from the delays and reluctance of Spain, to find ſome opportunity of eluding it. The court of Madrid ſhowed equal diſpleaſure. To relinquiſh any part of the Spaniſh provinces, in lieu of claims, ſo apparently unjuſt, and theſe urged with ſuch violence and haughtineſs, inſpired the higheſt diſguſt. Often did the Spaniards threaten to abandon entirely the Low Countries rather than ſubmit to ſo cruel a mortification; and they endeavoured, by this menace, to terrify the mediating powers into more vigorous meaſures for their ſupport. But Temple and de Wit were better acquainted with the views and intereſts of Spain. They knew, that ſhe muſt ſtill retain the Low Countries, as a bond of connexion with the other European powers, who alone, if her young monarch ſhould happen to die without iſſue, could enſure her independency againſt the pretenſions of France. They ſtill urged, therefore, the terms of the triple league, and threatned Spain with war in caſe of refuſal. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Temple was miniſter for England; Van Beuninghen for Holland; D'Ohna for Sweden.

SPAIN

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

SPAIN at laſt, preſſed on all hands, accepted of the alternative offered; but in her very compliance, ſhe gave ſtrong ſymptoms of ill-humour and diſcontent. It had been apparent, that the Hollanders, entirely neglecting the honour of the Spaniſh monarchy, had been anxious only for their own ſecurity; and, provided they could remove Lewis to a diſtance from their frontier, were more indifferent what progreſs he made in other places. Senſible of theſe views, the queen-regent of Spain reſolved ſtill to keep them in an anxiety, which might for the future be the foundation of an union more intimate than they were willing at preſent to enter into. Franchecomté, by a vigorous and well concerted plan of the French king, had been conquered, in fifteen days, during a rigorous ſeaſon, and in the midſt of winter. She choſe therefore to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the laſt campaign. By this means, Lewis extended his garriſons into the heart of the Low Countries; and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spaniſh provinces.

Treaty of Aix la-Chapelle.

BUT notwithſtanding the advantages of his ſituation, the French monarch could entertain ſmall hopes of ever extending his conqueſts on that quarter, which lay the moſt expoſed to his ambition, and where his acquiſitions were of moſt importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces to Spain; and the emperor and other powers of Germany, whoſe intereſts ſeemed to be intimately concerned, were invited to enter into the ſame confederacy. Spain herſelf, having, about this time, under the mediation of Charles, made peace on equal terms with Portugal, might be expected to exert more vigour in oppoſition to her haughty and triumphant rival. The great ſatisfaction, expreſſed in England, on account of the counſels now embraced by the court, promiſed the hearty concurrence of parliament in every meaſure, which

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

could be propoſed for oppoſition to the grandeur of France. And thus all Europe ſeemed to repoſe herſelf with ſecurity under the wings of that powerful confederacy, which had been ſo happily formed for her protection. It is now time to give ſome account of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland and in Ireland.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE Scottiſh nation, though they had never been ſubject to the arbitrary power of their prince, had but very imperfect notions of law and liberty; and ſcarcely in any age had they ever enjoyed an adminiſtration, which had confined itſelf within the proper boundaries. By their final union alone with England, their once hated antagoniſt, they have happily attained the experience of a government perfectly regular, and exempt from all violence and injuſtice. Charles, from his averſion to buſineſs, had entruſted the affairs of that country to his miniſters, particularly Middleton; and theſe could not forbear making very extraordinary ſtretches of authority.

THERE had been intercepted a letter, writ by lord Lorne to lord Duffus, in which, a little too plainly, but very truly, he complained, that his enemies had endeavoured by falſhood to prepoſſeſs the king againſt him. But he ſaid, that he had now diſcovered them, had defeated them, and had gained the perſon, meaning the earl of Clarendon, upon whom the chief of them depended. This letter was produced before the parliament; and Lorne was tried upon an old, tyrannical, abſurd law againſt *Leaſing-making*; by which it was rendered criminal to belie the ſubjects to the king, or create in him an ill opinion of them. He was condemned to die: But Charles was much diſpleaſed with the ſentence, and granted him a pardon [s].

[s] Burnet, p. 149.

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CHAP. LXIV. 1662.

It was carried in parliament, that twelve persons, without crime, witness, trial, or accuser, should be declared incapable of all trust or office; and to render this injustice more egregious, it was agreed, that these persons should be named by ballot: A method of voting, which several republics had adopted at elections, in order to prevent faction and intrigue; but which could serve only as a cover to malice and iniquity, in the inflicting of punishments. Lauderdale, Crawford, and sir Robert Murray, among others, were incapacitated: But the king, who disapproved of this injustice, refused his assent [t].

An act was passed against all persons, who should move the king for restoring the children of those who were attainted by parliament; an unheard-of restraint on applications for grace and mercy. No penalty was affixed; but the act was but the more violent and tyrannical on that account. The court-lawyers had established it as a maxim, that the assigning of a punishment was a limitation of the crown: Whereas a law, forbidding any thing, though without a penalty, made the offenders criminal. And in that case, they determined, that the punishment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. Middleton as commissioner passed this act; though he had no instructions for that purpose.

An act of indemnity passed; but at the same time it was voted, that all those who had offended during the late disorders, should be subjected to fines; and a committee of parliament was appointed for imposing them. These proceeded without any regard to some equitable rules, which the king had prescribed to them [u]. The most obnoxious compounded secretly. No consideration was had, either of men's riches, or of the degrees of their guilt: No proofs were produced: Enquiries were not so

[t] Burnet, p. 152. [u] Id. p. 147.

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

much as made: But as fast as information was given in against any man, he was marked down for a particular fine: And all was transacted in a secret committee. When the list was read in parliament, exceptions were made to several: Some had been under age during the civil wars; some had been abroad. But it was still replied, that a proper time would come, when every man should be heard in his own defence. The only intention, it was said, of setting the fine was, that such persons should have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unless they paid the sum demanded: Every one that chose to stand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, might do it at his peril. It was well known, that no one would dare so far to set at defiance so arbitrary an administration. The king wrote to the council, ordering them to supersede the levying of those fines: But Middleton found means, during some time, to elude these orders [x]. And at last, the king obliged his ministers to compound for half the sums, which had been imposed. In all these transactions, and in most others, which passed during the present reign, we still find the moderating hand of the king, interposed to protect the Scots from the oppressions, which their own countrymen, employed in the ministry, were desirous of exercising over them.

But the chief circumstance, whence were derived all the subsequent tyranny and disorders in Scotland, was the execution of the laws for the establishment of episcopacy; a mode of government, to which a great part of the nation had entertained an unsurmountable aversion. The rights of patrons had for some years been abolished; and the power of electing ministers had been vested in the kirk-session, and lay-elders. It was now enacted, that all incumbents, who had been admitted upon this

[x] Burnet, p. 201.

title,

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

title, ſhould receive a preſentation from the patron, and ſhould be inſtituted anew by the biſhop, under the penalty of deprivation. The more rigid preſbyterians concerted meaſures among themſelves, and refuſed obedience: They imagined, that their number would protect them. Three hundred and fifty pariſhes, above a third of the kingdom, were at once declared vacant. The weſtern counties chiefly were obſtinate in this particular. New miniſters were ſought for all over the kingdom; and no one was ſo ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who loved extremely and reſpected their former teachers; men remarkable for the ſeverity of their manners, and their fervor in preaching; were inflamed againſt theſe intruders, who had obtained their livings under ſuch invidious circumſtances, and who took no care, by the regularity of their manners, to ſoften the prejudices entertained againſt them. Even moſt of thoſe, who retained their livings by compliance, fell under the imputation of hypocriſy, either by their ſhewing a diſguſt to the new model of eccleſiaſtical government, which they had acknowledged; or on the other hand, by declaring, that their former adherence to preſbytery and the covenant had been the reſult of violence and neceſſity. And as Middleton and the new miniſtry indulged themſelves in great riot and diſorder, to which the nation had been little accuſtomed, an opinion univerſally prevailed, that any form of religion, offered by ſuch hands, muſt be profane and impious.

THE people, notwithſtanding their diſcontents, were reſolved to give no handle againſt them, by the leaſt ſymptom of mutiny or ſedition: But this ſubmiſſive diſpoſition, inſtead of procuring a mitigation of the rigours, was made uſe of as an argument for continuing the ſame meaſures, which by their vigour, it was pretended, had enforced ſo prompt an obedience. The king, however, was

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

was disgusted with the violence of Middleton [y]; and he made Rothes commissioner in his place. This nobleman was already president of the council; and soon after was made lord keeper and treasurer. Lauderdale still continued secretary of state, and commonly resided at London.

AFFAIRS remained in a peaceable situation, till the severe law was made in England against conventicles [z]. The Scotch parliament imitated that violence, by passing a like act. A kind of high commission court was appointed by the privy-council, for executing this rigorous law, and for the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. But even this court, illegal as it might be deemed, was much preferable to the method next adopted. Military force was let loose by the council. Wherever the people had generally forsaken their churches, the guards were quartered throughout the country. Sir James Turner commanded them, a man whose natural ferocity of temper was often inflamed by the use of strong liquors. He went about, and received from the clergy lists of those who absented themselves from church, or were supposed to frequent conventicles. Without any proof or legal conviction, he demanded a fine from them, and quartered soldiers on the supposed delinquents, till he received payment. As an insurrection was dreaded during the Dutch war, new forces were levied, and intrusted to the command of Dalziel and Drummond; two officers, who had served the king during the civil wars, and had afterwards engaged in the service of Russia, where they had encreased the native cruelty of their disposition. A full career was given to their tyranny by the Scotch ministry. Representations were made to the king against these enormities. He seemed touched with the state of the country; and besides giving orders, that the ecclesiastical commission should be discontinued,

y Burnet, p. 202. z 1664.

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he signified his opinion, that another way of proceeding was necessary for his service [a]. CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

THIS lenity of the king's came too late to remedy the disorders. The people, inflamed with bigotry, and irritated by ill usage, rose in arms. They were instigated by Guthry, Semple, and other preachers. They surprised Turner in Dumfries, and resolved to have put him to death; but finding, that his orders, which fell into their hands, were more violent than his execution of them, they spared his life. At Laneric, after many prayers, they renewed the covenant, and published their manifesto; in which they professed all submission to the king: They desired only the re-establishment of presbytery and of their former ministers. As many gentlemen of their party had been confined on suspicion; Wallace and Learmont, two officers, who had served, but in no high rank, were entrusted by the populace with the command. Their force never exceeded two thousand men; and though the country in general bore them great favour, men's spirits were so subdued, that the rebels could expect no father accession of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppose their progress. Their number was now diminished to 800; and these, having advanced near Edinburgh, attempted to find their way back into the west by Pentland Hills. They were attacked by the king's forces [b]. Finding that they could not escape, they stopped their march. Their clergy endeavoured to infuse courage into them. After singing some psalms, the rebels turned on the enemy; and being assisted by the advantage of the ground, they received the first charge very resolutely. But that was all the action: Immediately, they fell into disorder, and fled for their lives. About forty were killed on the spot, and a hundred and thirty taken

[a] Burnet, p. 213. [b] 28th November, 1666.

prisoners,

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

prisoners. The rest, favoured by the night, and by the weariness, and even by the pity of the king's troops, made their escape.

THE oppressions which these people had suffered, the delusions under which they laboured, and their inoffensive behaviour during the insurrection, made them the objects of compassion: Yet were the king's ministers, particularly Sharpe, resolved to take severe vengeance. Ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh: Thirty-five before their own doors in different places. These criminals might all have saved their lives, if they would have renounced the covenant. The executions were going on, when the king put a stop to them. He said, that blood enough had already been shed; and he wrote a letter to the privy-council, in which he ordered, that such of the prisoners as should simply promise to obey the laws for the future, should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should be sent to the plantations [c]. This letter was brought by Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow; but not being immediately delivered to the council by Sharpe, the president [d], one Maccail had in the interval been put to the torture, under which he expired. He seemed to die in an extacy of joy. "Farewel sun, moon, and stars; "farewel world and time; farewel weak and frail body: "Welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, wel- "come Saviour of the world, and welcome God, the "judge of all!" Such were his last words: And these animated speeches he uttered with an accent and manner, which struck all the bystanders with astonishment.

Affairs of Ireland.

THE settlement of Ireland after the restoration was a work of greater difficulty than that of England, or even of Scotland. Not only the power, during the former usurpations, had there been vested in the king's enemies: The whole property, in a manner, of the kingdom had

[c] Burnet, p. 237. [d] Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 255.

also

also been changed; and it became necessary to redress, but with as little violence as possible, many grievous hardships and iniquities, which were there complained of. CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

The Irish catholics had in 1648 concluded a treaty with Ormond, the king's lieutenant; in which they had stipulated pardon for their past rebellion, and had engaged under certain conditions to assist the royal cause: And though the violence of the priests and the bigotry of the people had prevented, in a great measure, the execution of this treaty; yet were there many, who having strictly, at the hazard of their lives, adhered to it, seemed on that account well entitled to reap the fruits of their loyalty. Cromwel, having without distinction expelled all the native Irish from the three provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare; and among those who had thus been forfeited, were many whose innocence was altogether unquestionable. Several protestants likewise, and Ormond among the rest, had all along opposed the Irish rebellion; yet having afterwards embraced the king's cause against the parliament, they were all of them attainted by Cromwel. And there were many officers, who had, from the commencement of the insurrection, served in Ireland, and who, because they would not desert the king, had been refused all their arrears by the English Commonwealth.

To all these unhappy sufferers some justice seemed to be due: But the difficulty was to find the means of redressing such great and extensive iniquities. Almost all the valuable parts of Ireland had been measured out and divided, either to the adventurers, who had lent money to the parliament for the suppression of the Irish rebellion, or to the soldiers, who had received land in lieu of their arrears. These could not be dispossessed, because they were

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

were the moſt powerful and only armed part of Ireland; becauſe it was requiſite to favour them, in order to ſupport the proteſtant and Engliſh intereſt in that kingdom; and becauſe they had generally, with a ſeeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the king's reſtoration. The king, therefore, iſſued a proclamation; in which he promiſed to maintain their ſettlement, and at the ſame time engaged to give redreſs to the innocent ſufferers. There was a large quantity of land as yet undivided in Ireland; and from this and ſome other funds, it was thought poſſible for the king to fulfil both theſe engagements.

A COURT OF CLAIMS was erected, conſiſting altogether of Engliſh commiſſioners, who had no connexion with any of the parties, into which Ireland was divided. Before theſe were laid four thouſand claims of perſons deſiring reſtitution on account of their innocence; and the commiſſioners had found leiſure to examine only ſix hundred. It already appeared, that, if all theſe were to be reſtored, the funds, whence the adventurers and ſoldiers muſt get repriſals, would fall ſhort of giving them any tolerable ſatisfaction. A great alarm and anxiety ſeized all ranks of men: The hopes and fears of every party were excited: Theſe eagerly graſped at recovering their paternal inheritance: Thoſe were reſolute to maintain their new acquiſitions.

THE duke of Ormond was created lord-lieutenant; being the only perſon, whoſe prudence and juſtice could compoſe ſuch jarring intereſts. A parliament was aſſembled at Dublin; and as the lower houſe was almoſt entirely choſen by the ſoldiers and adventurers, who ſtill kept poſſeſſion, it was extremely favourable to that intereſt. The houſe of peers ſhowed greater impartiality.

AN inſurrection was projected, together with a ſurprizal of the caſtle of Dublin, by ſome of the diſbanded ſoldiers; but this deſign was happily defeated by the vigi-

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lance of Ormond. Some of the criminals were puniſhed. Blood, the moſt deſperate of them, eſcaped into England. CHAP. LXIV. 1663.

But affairs could not long remain in the confuſion and uncertainty, into which they were fallen. All parties ſeemed willing to abate ſomewhat of their pretenſions, in order to attain ſome ſtability; and Ormond interpoſed his authority to that purpoſe. The ſoldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquiſh a fourth of their poſſeſſions; and as they had purchaſed their lands at very low prices, they had reaſon to think themſelves favoured by this compoſition. All thoſe, who had been attainted on account of their adhering to the king, were reſtored; and ſome of the innocent Iriſh. It was a hard ſituation, that a man was obliged to prove himſelf innocent, in order to recover poſſeſſion of the eſtate, which he and his anceſtors had ever enjoyed: But the hardſhip was augmented, by the difficult conditions annexed to this proof. If the perſon had ever lived in the quarters of the rebels, he was not admitted to plead his innocence; and he was, for that reaſon alone, ſuppoſed to have been a rebel. The heinous guilt of the Iriſh nation made men overlook the more readily any iniquity, which might fall on individuals; and it was conſidered, that, though it be always the intereſt of all good government to prevent injuſtice, it is not always poſſible to remedy it, after it has had a long courſe, and has been attended with great ſucceſſes.

Ireland began to attain a ſtate of ſome compoſure, when it was diſturbed by a violent act, paſſed by the Engliſh parliament, which prohibited the importation of Iriſh cattle into England [c]. Ormond remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt this law. He ſaid, that the preſent trade, car-

[c] In 1666.

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CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

ried on between England and Ireland, was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only provisions, or rude materials, in return for every species of manufacture: That if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of that island had no other commodity, by which they could pay England for their importations, and must have recourse to other nations for a supply: That the industrious inhabitants of England, if deprived of Irish provisions, which made living cheap, would be obliged to augment the price of labour, and thereby render their manufactures too dear to be exported to foreign markets: That the indolent inhabitants of Ireland, finding provisions fall almost to nothing, would never be induced to labour, but would perpetuate to all generations their native sloth and barbarism: That by cutting off almost entirely the trade between the kingdoms, all the natural bands of union were dissolved, and nothing remained to keep the Irish in their duty but force and violence: And that by reducing that kingdom to extreme poverty, it would be even rendered incapable of maintaining that military power, by which, during its well grounded discontents, it must necessarily be retained in subjection.

The king was so much convinced of the justness of these reasons, that he used all his interest to oppose the bill; and he openly declared, that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the commons were resolute in their purpose. Some of the rents of England had fallen of late years, which had been ascribed entirely to the importation of Irish cattle: Several intrigues had contributed to inflame that prejudice, particularly those of Buckingham and Ashley, who were desirous of giving Ormond disturbance in his government: And the spirit of tyranny, of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had extremely animated

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the Engliſh to exert their ſuperiority over their dependant ſtate. No affair could be conducted with greater violence than this was by the commons. They even went ſo far in the preamble of the bill as to declare the importation of Iriſh cattle to be a *nuiſance*. By this expreſſion, they gave ſcope to their paſſion, and at the ſame time barred the king's prerogative, by which he might think himſelf entitled to diſpenſe with a law, ſo full of injuſtice and bad policy. The lords expunged the word; but as the king was ſenſible, that no ſupply would be given by the commons, unleſs they were gratified in their prejudices, he was obliged both to employ his intereſt with the peers for making the bill paſs, and to give the royal aſſent to it. He could not, however, forbear expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the jealouſy entertained againſt him, and at the intention, which the commons diſcovered of retrenching his prerogative. CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

THIS law brought great diſtreſs for ſome time upon the Iriſh; but it has occaſioned their applying with greater induſtry to manufactures, and has proved in the iſſue beneficial to that kingdom.

CHAP. LXV.

A Parliament——The Cabal——Their Characters ——Their counſels——Alliance with France—— A Parliament——Coventry act——Blood's crimes ——Duke declares himſelf Catholic——Exchequer ſhut——Declaration of indulgence——Attack of the Smyrna fleet——War declared with Holland—— Weakneſs of the States——Battle of Solebay—— Sandwich killed——Progreſs of the French—— Conſternation of the Dutch——Prince of Orange Stadtholder——Maſſacre of the de Wits—— Good conduct of the Prince——A Parliament—— Declaration of indulgence recalled——Sea fight ——Another ſea fight——Another ſea fight—— Congreſs of Cologne——A Parliament——Peace with Holland.

CHAP. LXV.

1668. SINCE the reſtoration, England had attained a ſituation, which had never been experienced in any former period of her government, and which ſeemed the only one, that could fully enſure, at once, her tranquillity and her liberty: The king was in continual want of ſupply from the parliament; and he ſeemed willing to accommodate himſelf to that dependent ſituation. Inſtead of reviving thoſe claims of prerogative, ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on by his predeceſſors, Charles had ſtrictly confined himſelf within the limits of law, and had courted, by every art of popularity, the affections of

of his ſubjects. Even the ſeverities, however blameable, which he had exerciſed againſt nonconformiſts, are to be conſidered as expedients, by which he ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with that party, which predominated in parliament. But notwithſtanding theſe promiſing appearances, there were many circumſtances, which kept the government from reſting ſteddily on that bottom, on which it was placed. The crown having loſt almoſt all its ancient demeſnes, relied entirely on voluntary grants of the people; and the commons, not fully accuſtomed to this new ſituation, were not yet diſpoſed to ſupply with ſufficient liberality the neceſſities of the crown. They imitated too ſtrictly the example of their predeceſſors in a rigid frugality of public money; and neither ſufficiently conſidered the indigent condition of their prince, nor the general ſtate of Europe; where every nation, by its increaſe both of magnificence and force, had made great additions to all public expences. Some conſiderable ſums, indeed, were beſtowed on Charles; and the patriots of that age, tenacious of ancient maxims, loudly upbraided the commons with prodigality: But if we may judge by the example of a later period, when the government has become more regular, and the harmony of its parts has been more happily adjuſted, the parliaments of this reign ſeem rather to have merited a contrary reproach. CHAP. LXV. 1668.

THE natural conſequence of the poverty of the crown was, beſides feeble irregular tranſactions in foreign affairs, a continual uncertainty in its domeſtic adminiſtration. No one could anſwer with any tolerable aſſurance for the meaſures of the houſe of commons. Few of the members were attached to the court by any other band than that of inclination. Royaliſts indeed in their principles, but unexperienced in buſineſs, they lay expoſed to every rumour or inſinuation; and were driven

CHAP. LXV. 1668.

by momentary guſts or currents, no leſs than the populace themſelves. Even the attempts made to gain an aſcendant over them, by offices, and, as it is believed, by bribes and penſions, were apt to operate in a manner contrary to what was intended by the miniſters. The novelty of the practice conveyed a general, and indeed a juſt, alarm; while at the ſame time, the poverty of the crown rendered this influence very limited and precarious.

THE character of Charles was ill fitted to remedy thoſe defects in the conſtitution. He acted in the adminiſtration of public affairs, as if government were a paſtime, rather than a ſerious occupation; and by the uncertainty of his conduct, he loſt that authority, which could alone beſtow conſtancy on the fluctuating reſolutions of the parliament. His expences too, which perhaps exceeded the proper bounds, were directed more by inclination than by policy; and while they encreaſed his dependance on the parliament, they were not calculated fully to ſatisfy either the intereſted or diſintereſted part of that aſſembly.

8th of February. A parliament.

THE parliament met after a long adjournment; and the king promiſed himſelf every thing from the attachment of the commons. All his late meaſures had been calculated to acquire the good will of his people; and above all, the triple league, it was hoped, would be able to efface all the diſagreeable impreſſions left by the unhappy concluſion of the Dutch war. But a new attempt made by the court, and a laudable one too, loſt him, for a time, the effect of all theſe endeavours. Buckingham, who was in great favour with the king, and carried on many intrigues among the commons, had alſo endeavoured to ſupport connexions with the nonconformiſts; and he now formed a ſcheme, in concert with the lord keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and chief juſtice,

CHAP. LXV. 1662.

Juſtice, Sir Mathew Hale, two worthy patriots, to put an end to thoſe ſeverities, under which theſe religioniſts had ſo long laboured. It was propoſed to reconcile the preſbyterians by a comprehenſion, and to grant a toleration to the independants and other ſectaries. Favour ſeems not, by this ſcheme, as by others embraced during the preſent reign, to have been intended the catholics: Yet were the zealous commons ſo diſguſted, that they could not be prevailed on even to give the king thanks for the triple league, however laudable that meaſure was then, and has ever ſince been eſteemed. They immediately voted an addreſs for a proclamation againſt conventicles. Their requeſt was complied with; but as the king ſtill dropped ſome hints of his deſire to reconcile his proteſtant ſubjects, the commons paſſed a very unuſual vote, that no man ſhould bring into the houſe any bill of that nature. The king in vain reiterated his ſolicitations for ſupply; repreſented the neceſſity of equipping a fleet; and even offered, that the money, which they ſhould grant, ſhould be collected and iſſued for that purpoſe by commiſſioners appointed by the houſe. Inſtead of complying, the commons voted an enquiry into all the miſcarriages during the late war; the ſlackening of ſail after the duke's victory from falſe orders delivered by Brounker, the miſcarriage at Berghen, the diviſion of the fleet under prince Rupert and Albemarle, the diſgrace at Chatham. Brounker was expelled the houſe, and ordered to be impeached. Commiſſioner Pet, who had neglected orders iſſued for the ſecurity of Chatham, met with the ſame fate. Theſe impeachments were never proſecuted. The houſe at laſt, having been indulged in all their prejudices, were prevailed with to vote the king three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, by an impoſition on wine and other liquors; after which they were adjourned.

CHAP. LXV.

PUBLIC buſineſs, beſides being retarded by the diſguſt of the commons againſt the tolerating maxims of the court, met with obſtructions this ſeſſion from a quarrel between the two houſes. Skinner, a rich merchant in London, having ſuffered ſome injuries from the Eaſt India company, laid the matter by petition before the houſe of lords, by whom he was relieved in coſts and damages to the amount of five thouſand pounds. The commons voted, that the lords, in taking cognizance of this affair, originally, without any appeal from inferior courts, had acted in a manner not agreeable to the laws of the land, and tending to deprive the ſubject of the right, eaſe, and benefit, due to him by theſe laws; and that Skinner, in proſecuting the ſuit after this manner, had infringed the privileges of the commons: For which offence, they ordered him to be taken into cuſtody. Some conferences enſued between the houſes; where the lords were tenacious of their right of judicature, and maintained, that the method, in which they had exerciſed it, was quite regular. The commons roſe into a great ferment; and went ſo far as to vote, that "whoever ſhould be aiding or aſſiſting in putting in execution the order or ſentence of the houſe of lords, in the caſe of Skinner againſt the Eaſt India company, ſhould be deemed a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the commons of England, and an infringer of the privileges of the houſe of commons." They rightly judged, that it would not be eaſy, after this vote, to find any one, who would venture on their indignation. The proceedings indeed of the lords ſeem in this caſe to have been unuſual and without precedent.

1668. 11th of May.

1669. 19th of October.

THE king's neceſſities obliged him again to aſſemble the parliament, who ſhowed ſome diſpoſition to relieve him. The price, however, which he muſt pay for this indulgence,

indulgence, was his yielding to new laws againſt conventicles. His complaiſance in this particular contributed more to gain the commons, than all the pompous pretences of ſupporting the triple alliance, that popular meaſure, by which he expected to make ſuch advantage. The quarrel between the two houſes was revived; and as the commons had voted only four hundred thouſand pounds, with which the king was not ſatisfied, he thought proper, before they had carried their vote into a law, to prorogue them. The only buſineſs finiſhed this ſhort ſeſſion was receiving the report of the committee appointed for examining the public accounts. On the firſt inſpection of this report, there appears a great ſum, no leſs than a million and a half, unaccounted for; and the natural inference is, that the king had much abuſed the truſt repoſed in him by parliament. But a more accurate inſpection of particulars ſerves, in a great meaſure, to remove this imputation. The king indeed went ſo far as to tell the parliament from the throne, "That he had "fully informed himſelf of that matter, and did affirm, "that no part of thoſe monies, which they had given "him, had been diverted to other uſes, but on the con- "trary, beſides all thoſe ſupplies, a very great ſum had "been raiſed out of his ſtanding revenue and credit, "and a very great debt contracted; and all for the war." Though artificial pretences have often been employed by kings in their ſpeeches to parliament, and by none more than Charles, it is ſomewhat difficult to ſuſpect him of a direct lie and falſhood. He muſt have had ſome reaſons, and perhaps not unplauſible ones, for this affirmation, of which all his hearers, as they had the accounts lying before them, were at that time competent judges [d].

CHAP. LXV. 1669.

11th of December.

THE method, which all parliaments had hitherto followed, was to vote a particular ſum for the ſupply,

[d] See note [N] at the end of the volume.

CHAP. LXV.

1669.

without any distinction or any appropriation to particular services. So long as the demands of the crown were small and casual, no great inconveniencies arose from this practice. But as all the measures of government were now changed, it must be confessed, that, if the king made a just application of public money, this inaccurate method of proceeding, by exposing him to suspicion, was prejudicial to him. If he was inclined to act otherwise, it was equally hurtful to the people. For these reasons, a contrary practice, during all the late reigns, has constantly been followed by the commons.

1670. 14th of February.

When the parliament met after the prorogation, they entered anew upon the business of supply, and granted the king an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each tun of Spanish wine imported, eight on each tun of French. A law also passed empowering him to sell the fee farm rents; the last remains of the demesnes, by which the ancient kings of England had been supported. By this expedient he obtained some supply for his present necessities, but left the crown, if possible, still more dependent than before. How much money might be raised by these sales is uncertain; but it could not be near one million eight hundred thousand pounds, the sum assigned by some writers [e].

The act against conventicles passed, and received the royal assent. It bears the appearance of mitigating the former persecuting laws; but if we may judge by the spirit, which had broken out almost every session during this parliament, it was not intended as any favour to the nonconformists. Experience probably had taught, that laws over rigid and severe could not be executed. By

[e] Mr. Carte, in his Vindication of the Answer to the Bystander, p. 99, says, that the sale of the fee farm rents would not yield above one hundred thousand pounds; and his reasons appear well founded.

this act the hearer in a conventicle, (that is, in a diſ- CHAP. LXV.
ſenting aſſembly, where more than five were preſent, be- 1670.
ſides the family) was fined five ſhillings for the firſt offence, ten for the ſecond; the preacher twenty pounds for the firſt offence, forty for the ſecond. The perſon, in whoſe houſe the conventicle met, was amerced a like ſum with the preacher. One clauſe is remarkable; that, if any diſpute ſhould ariſe with regard to the interpretation of any part of the act, the judges ſhould always explain the doubt in the ſenſe leaſt favourable to conventicles, it being the intention of parliament entirely to ſuppreſs them. Such was the zeal of the commons, that they violated the plaineſt and moſt eſtabliſhed maxims of civil policy, which require, that, in all criminal proſecutions, favour ſhould always be given to the priſoner.

THE affair of Skinner ſtill remained a ground of quarrel between the two houſes; but the king prevailed with the peers to accept of the expedient propoſed by the commons, that a general razure ſhould be made of all the tranſactions with regard to that diſputed queſtion.

SOME attempts were made by the king to effectuate a union between England and Scotland: But they were too feeble to remove all the difficulties, which obſtructed that uſeful and important undertaking. Commiſſioners were appointed to meet, in order to regulate the conditions: But the deſign, chiefly by the intrigues of Lauderdale, ſoon after came to nothing.

THE king, about this time, began frequently to attend the debates of the houſe of peers. He ſaid, that they amuſed him, and that he found them no leſs entertaining than a play. But deeper deſigns were ſuſpected. As he ſeemed to intereſt himſelf extremely in the cauſe of lord Roos, who had obtained a divorce from his wife on the accuſation of adultery, and applied to parliament for leave to marry again; people imagined, that Charles

propoſed

CHAP. LXV.

1670.

proposed to make a precedent of the case, and that some other pretence would be found for getting rid of the queen. Many proposals to this purpose, it is said, were made him by Buckingham: But the king, how little scrupulous soever in some respects, was incapable of any action harsh or barbarous; and he always rejected every scheme of this nature. A suspicion however of such intentions, it was observed, had, at this time, begot a coldness between the two royal brothers.

We now come to a period, when the king's counsels, which had hitherto, in the main, been good, though negligent and fluctuating, became, during some time, remarkably bad, or even criminal; and breeding incurable jealousies in all men, were followed by such consequences as had almost terminated in the ruin both of prince and people. Happily the same negligence still attended him; and, as it had lessened the influence of the good, it also diminished the effect of the bad measures, which he embraced.

It was remarked, that the committee of council, established for foreign affairs, was entirely changed; and that prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, secretary Trevor, and lord keeper Bridgeman, men in whose honour the nation had great confidence, were never called to any deliberations. The whole secret was entrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. These men were known by the appellation of the Cabal, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compose. Never was there a more dangerous ministry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious counsels.

The Cabal.

Their Characters.

Lord Ashley, soon after known by the name of earl of Shaftesbury, was one of the most remarkable characters of the age, and the chief spring of all the succeeding movements. During his early youth, he had engaged in the late king's party; but being disgusted with some measures

measures of prince Maurice, he soon deserted to the parliament. He insinuated himself into the confidence of Cromwel; and as he had great influence with the presbyterians, he was serviceable in supporting, with his party, the authority of that usurper. He employed the same credit in promoting the restoration; and on that account both deserved and acquired favour with the king. In all his changes, he still maintained the character of never betraying those friends whom he deserted; and which-ever party he joined, his great capacity and singular talents soon gained him their confidence, and enabled him to take the lead among them. No station could satisfy his ambition, no fatigues were insuperable to his industry. Well-acquainted with the blind attachment of faction, he surmounted all sense of shame: And relying on the subtilty of his contrivances, he was not startled with enterprizes, the most hazardous and most criminal. His talents, both of public speaking and private insinuation, shone out in an eminent degree; and amidst all his furious passions, he possessed a sound judgment of business, and still more of men. Though fitted by nature for beginning and pushing the greatest undertakings, he was never able to conduct any to a happy period; and his eminent abilities, by reason of his insatiable desires, were equally dangerous to himself, to the prince, and to the people. CHAP. LXV. 1670.

The duke of Buckingham possessed all the advantages, which a graceful person, a high rank, a splendid fortune, and a lively wit could bestow; but by his wild conduct, unrestrained either by prudence or principle, he found means to render himself in the end odious and even insignificant. The least interest could make him abandon his honour; the smallest pleasure could seduce him from his interest; the most frivolous caprice was sufficient to counterbalance his pleasure. By his want of secrecy and

CHAP. LXV.

1670.

conſtancy, he deſtroyed his character in public life; by his contempt of order and œconomy, he diſſipated his private fortune; by riot and debauchery, he ruined his health; and he remained at laſt as incapable of doing hurt, as he had ever been little deſirous of doing good, to mankind.

THE earl, ſoon after created duke of Lauderdale, was not defective in natural, and ſtill leſs in acquired, talents; but neither was his addreſs graceful, nor his underſtanding juſt. His principles, or, more properly ſpeaking, his prejudices, were obſtinate, but unable to reſtrain his ambition: His ambition was ſtill leſs dangerous than the tyranny and violence of his temper. An implacable enemy, but a lukewarm friend; inſolent to his inferiors, but abject to his ſuperiors; though in his whole character and deportment, he was almoſt diametrically oppoſite to the king, he had the fortune, beyond any other miniſter, to maintain, during the greateſt part of his reign, an aſcendant over him.

THE talents of parliamentary eloquence and intrigue had raiſed Sir Thomas Clifford; and his daring impetuous ſpirit gave him weight in the king's councils. Of the whole cabal, Arlington was the leaſt dangerous either by his vices or his talents. His judgment was ſound, though his capacity was but moderate; and his intentions were good, though he wanted courage and integrity to perſevere in them. Together with Temple and Bridgeman, he had been a great promoter of the triple league; but he threw himſelf with equal alacrity into oppoſite meaſures, when he found them agreeable to his maſter. Clifford and he were ſecretly catholics: Shafteſbury, though addicted to aſtrology, was reckoned a deiſt: Buckingham had too little reflection to embrace any ſteady principles: Lauderdale had long been a bigotted and furious preſbyterian; and the opinions of that ſect ſtill

kept

kept poſſeſſion of his mind, how little ſoever they appeared in his conduct. CHAP. LXV.

THE dark counſels of the cabal, though from the firſt they gave anxiety to all men of reflection, were not thoroughly known but by the event. Such ſeem to have been the views, which they ſuggeſted to the king and the duke, and which theſe princes too greedily embraced. They ſaid, that the parliament, though the ſpirit of party, for the preſent, attached them to the crown, were ſtill more attached to thoſe powers and privileges, which their predeceſſors had uſurped from the ſovereign: That after the firſt flow of kindneſs was ſpent, they had diſcovered evident ſymptoms of diſcontent; and would be ſure to turn againſt the king all the authority which they yet retained, and ſtill more thoſe pretenſions which it was eaſy for them in a moment to revive: That they not only kept the king in dependance by means of his precarious revenue, but had never diſcovered a ſuitable generoſity, even in thoſe temporary ſupplies, which they granted him: That it was time for the prince to rouze himſelf from his lethargy, and to recover that authority, which his predeceſſors, during ſo many ages, had peaceably enjoyed: That the great error or misfortune of his father was the not having formed any cloſe connexion with foreign princes, who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, might have found their intereſt in ſupporting him: That the preſent alliances, being entered into with ſo many weaker potentates, who themſelves ſtood in need of the king's protection, could never ſerve to maintain, much leſs augment, the royal authority: That the French monarch alone, ſo generous a prince, and by blood ſo nearly allied to the king, would be found both able and willing, if gratified in his ambition, to defend the common cauſe of kings againſt uſurping ſubjects: That a war, undertaken againſt Holland by the united force

1670. Their counſels.

CHAP. LXV.

1670.

force of two such mighty potentates, would prove an easy enterprize, and would serve all the purposes which were aimed at: That under pretence of that war, it would not be difficult to levy a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his subjects, the king would vainly expect to defend his prerogative: That his naval power might be maintained, partly by the supplies, which, on other pretences, would previously be obtained from parliament; partly by subsidies from France; partly by captures, which might easily be made on that opulent republic: That in such a situation, attempts to recover the lost authority of the crown would be attended with success; nor would any malcontents dare to resist a prince, fortified by so powerful an alliance; or if they did, they would only draw more certain ruin on themselves and on their cause: And that by subduing the States, a great step would be made towards a reformation of the government; since it was apparent, that that republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified, in his factious subjects, their attachment to what they vainly termed their civil and religious liberties.

THESE suggestions happened fatally to concur with all the inclinations and prejudices of the king; his desire of more extensive authority, his propensity to the catholic religion, his avidity for money. He seems likewise, from the very beginning of his reign, to have entertained great jealousy of his own subjects, and, on that account, a desire of fortifying himself by an intimate alliance with France. So early as 1664, he had offered the French monarch to allow him without opposition to conquer Flanders, provided that prince would engage to furnish him with ten thousand infantry, and a suitable number of cavalry, in case of any rebellion in England[1]. As

[1] D'Estrades, 21st of July, 1667.

no

no dangerous ſymptom at that time appeared, we are left to conjecture, from this incident, what opinion Charles had conceived of the factious diſpoſition of his people. CHAP. LXV. 1670.

EVEN during the time, when the triple alliance was moſt zealouſly cultivated, the king never ſeems to have been entirely cordial in thoſe ſalutary meaſures, but ſtill to have caſt a longing eye towards the French alliance. Clifford, who had much of his confidence, ſaid imprudently, "Notwithſtanding all this joy, we muſt have a "ſecond war with Holland." The acceſſion of the Emperor to that alliance had been refuſed by England on frivolous pretences. And many unfriendly cavils were raiſed againſt the States with regard to Surinam and the conduct of the Eaſt India company[g]. But about April 1669, the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms appeared of thoſe fatal meaſures, which were afterwards more openly purſued.

DE WIT, at that time, came to Temple; and told him, that he payed him a viſit as a friend, not as a miniſter. The occaſion was to acquaint him with a converſation which he had lately had with Puffendorf, the Swediſh agent, who had paſſed by the Hague in the way from Paris to his own country. The French miniſters, Puffendorf ſaid, had taken much pains to perſuade him, that the Swedes would find their account very ill in thoſe meaſures, which they had lately embraced: That Spain would fail them in all her promiſes of ſubſidies; nor would Holland alone be able to ſupport them: That England would certainly fail them, and had already adopted counſels directly oppoſite to thoſe which by the triple league ſhe had bound herſelf to purſue: And that the reſolution was not the leſs fixed and certain, becauſe the ſecret was as yet communicated to very few either in the French or Engliſh court. When Puffendorf ſeemed incredulous, Turenne ſhowed him a letter from Colbert.

[g] See note [O] at the end of the volume.

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CHAP. LXV.

1670.

de Croiſſy, the French miniſter at London; in which, after mentioning the ſucceſs of his negotiations, and the favourable diſpoſition of the chief miniſters there, he added, "And I have at laſt made them ſenſible of the "full extent of his Majeſty's bounty[h]." From this incident it appears, that the infamous practice of ſelling themſelves to foreign princes, a practice, which, notwithſtanding the malignity of the vulgar, is certainly rare among men in high office, had not been ſcrupled by Charles's miniſters.

But the king's reſolutions, at leaſt, his ſchemes, ſeem never to have been entirely fixed, till the viſit which he received from his ſiſter, the dutcheſs of Orleans. Lewis, knowing the addreſs and inſinuation of that amiable princeſs, and the great influence which ſhe had gained over her brother, had engaged her to employ all her good offices, in order to detach England from the triple league, which, he knew, had fixed ſuch unſurmountable barriers to his ambition. That he might the better cover this negotiation, he pretended to viſit his frontiers, particularly the great works which he had undertaken at Dunkirk; and he carried the queen and the whole court along with him. While he remained on the oppoſite ſhore, the dutcheſs of Orleans went over to England; and Charles met her at Dover, where they paſſed ten days together in great mirth and feſtivity. By her artifices and careſſes, ſhe prevailed on Charles to relinquiſh the moſt ſettled maxims of honour and policy, and to finiſh his engagements with Lewis for the deſtruction of Holland; as well as for the change of religion in England.

16th May.

Alliance with France.

But Lewis well knew Charles's character, and the uſual fluctuation of his counſels. In order to fix him in the French intereſts, he reſolved to bind him by the tyes

[h] Temple, vol. ii. p. 179.

of

of pleaſure, the only ones which with him were irreſiſtible; and he made him a preſent of a French miſtreſs, by whoſe means he hoped, for the future, to govern him. The dutcheſs of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name of Queroüaille, whom the king carried to London, and ſoon after created dutcheſs of Portſmouth. He was extremely attached to her during the whole courſe of his life; and ſhe proved a great means of ſupporting his connexions with her native country. CHAP. LXV. 1670.

THE ſatisfaction, which Charles reaped from his new alliance, received a great check by the death of his ſiſter, and ſtill more by thoſe melancholy circumſtances which attended it. Her death was ſudden, after a few days illneſs; and ſhe was ſeized with the malady upon drinking a glaſs of ſuccory-water. Strong ſuſpicions of poiſon aroſe in the court of France, and were ſpread all over Europe; and as her huſband had diſcovered many ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſcontent on account of her conduct, he was univerſally believed to be the author of the crime. Charles himſelf, during ſome time, was entirely convinced of his guilt; but upon receiving the atteſtation of phyſicians, who, on opening her body, found no foundation for the general rumour, he was, or pretended to be ſatisfied. The duke of Orleans indeed did never, in any other circumſtance of his life, betray ſuch diſpoſitions as might lead him to ſo criminal an action; and a lady, it is ſaid, drank the remains of the ſame glaſs, without feeling any inconvenience. The ſudden death of princes is commonly accompanied with theſe diſmal ſurmiſes; and therefore leſs weight is in this caſe to be laid on the ſuſpicions of the public.

CHARLES, inſtead of breaking with France upon this incident, took advantage of it to ſend over Buckingham, under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans, but in reality to concert farther meaſures for the projected

CHAP. LXV.

1670.

war. Never ambaſſador received greater careſſes. The more deſtructive the preſent meaſures were to the intereſts of England, the more natural was it for Lewis to load with civilities, and even with favours, thoſe whom he could engage to promote them.

THE journey of Buckingham raiſed ſtrong ſuſpicions in Holland, which every circumſtance tended ſtill farther to confirm. Lewis made a ſudden irruption into Lorraine; and though he miſſed ſeizing the duke himſelf, who had no ſurmiſe of the danger, and who narrowly eſcaped, he was ſoon able, without reſiſtance, to make himſelf maſter of the whole country. The French monarch was ſo far unhappy, that, though the moſt tempting opportunities offered themſelves, he had not commonly ſo much as the pretence of equity and juſtice to cover his ambitious meaſures. This acquiſition of Lorraine ought to have excited the jealouſy of the contracting powers in the triple league, as much as an invaſion of Flanders itſelf; yet did Charles turn a deaf ear to all remonſtrances, made him upon that ſubject.

BUT what tended chiefly to open the eyes of de Wit and the States, with regard to the meaſures of England, was the ſudden recal of Sir William Temple. That miniſter had ſo firmly eſtabliſhed his character of honour and integrity, that he was believed incapable even of obeying his maſter's commands, in promoting meaſures which he eſteemed pernicious to his country; and ſo long as he remained in employment, de Wit thought himſelf aſſured of the fidelity of England. Charles was ſo ſenſible of this prepoſſeſſion, that he ordered Temple to leave his family at the Hague, and pretended, that that miniſter would immediately return, after having conferred with the king about ſome buſineſs, where his negotiation had met with obſtructions. De Wit made the Dutch reſident inform the Engliſh court, that he ſhould conſider

the recal of Temple as an expreſs declaration of a change of meaſures in England; and ſhould even know what interpretation to put upon any delay of his return. CHAP. LXV. 1670.

WHILE theſe meaſures were ſecretly in agitation, the parliament met, according to adjournment. The king made a ſhort ſpeech, and left the buſineſs to be enlarged upon by the keeper. That miniſter inſiſted much on the king's great want of ſupply; the mighty encreaſe of the naval power of France, now triple to what it was before the laſt war with Holland; the decay of the Engliſh navy; the neceſſity of fitting out next year a fleet of fifty ſail; the obligations which the king lay under by ſeveral treaties to exert himſelf for the common good of chriſtendom. Among other treaties, he mentioned the triple alliance, and the defenſive league with the States. 24th Oct. A parliament.

THE artifice ſucceeded. The houſe of commons, entirely ſatisfied with the king's meaſures, voted him conſiderable ſupplies. A land tax for a year was impoſed of a ſhilling a pound; two ſhillings a pound on two thirds of the ſalaries of offices; fifteen ſhillings on every hundred pounds of bankers' money and ſtock; an additional exciſe upon beer for ſix years, and certain impoſitions upon law proceedings for nine years. The parliament had never before been in a more liberal humour; and never ſurely was it leſs merited by the counſels of the king and of his miniſters.

THE commons paſſed another bill, for laying a duty on tobacco, Scotch ſalt, glaſſes, and ſome other commodities. Againſt this bill the merchants of London appeared by petition before the houſe of lords. The lords entered into their reaſons, and began to make amendments on the bill ſent up by the commons. This attempt was highly reſented by the lower houſe, as an encroachment on the right, which they pretended to poſſeſs alone, of granting money to the crown. Many remonſtrances paſſed be-

CHAP. LXV.

1671. 22d April.

tween the two houſes; and by their altercations the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament; and he thereby loſt the money which was intended him. This is the laſt time that the peers have revived any pretenſions of that nature. Ever ſince, the privilege of the commons, in all other places, except in the houſe of peers, has paſſed for uncontroverted.

THERE was a private affair, which during this ſeſſion diſguſted the houſe of commons, and required ſome pains to accommodate it. The uſual method of thoſe who oppoſed the court in the money bills, was, if they failed in the main vote, as to the extent of the ſupply, to levy the money upon ſuch funds as they expected would be unacceptable, or would prove deficient. It was propoſed to lay an impoſition upon playhouſes: The courtiers objected, that the players were the king's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, aſked, "whether the king's pleaſure "lay among the male or the female players?" This ſtroke of ſatire was aimed at Charles, who, beſides his miſtreſſes of higher quality, entertained at that time two actreſſes, Davis and Nell Gwin. The king received not the raillery with that good humour, which might have been expected. It was ſaid, that this being the firſt time, that reſpect to majeſty had been publicly violated, it was neceſſary, by ſome ſevere chaſtiſement, to make Coventry an example to all who might incline to tread in his footſteps. Sands, Obrian, and ſome other officers of the guards, were ordered to way-lay him, and to ſet a mark upon him. He defended himſelf with bravery, and after wounding ſeveral of the aſſailants, was diſarmed with ſome difficulty. They cut his noſe to the bone, in order, as they ſaid, to teach him what reſpect he owed to the king. The commons were inflamed by this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words

ſpoken

CHAP. LXV.

1671.

ſpoken in the houſe. They paſſed a law, which made it capital to maim any perſon; and they enacted, that thoſe criminals, who had aſſaulted Coventry, ſhould be incapable of receiving a pardon from the crown. Coventry act.

THERE was another private affair tranſacted about this time, by which the king was as much expoſed to the imputation of a capricious lenity, as he was here blamed for unneceſſary ſeverity. Blood, a diſbanded officer of the protector's, had been engaged in the conſpiracy for raiſing an inſurrection in Ireland; and on account of this crime he himſelf had been attainted, and ſome of his accomplices capitally puniſhed. The daring villain meditated revenge upon Ormond, the lord lieutenant. Having by artifice drawn off the duke's footmen, he attacked his coach in the night time, as it drove along St. James's ſtreet in London; and he made himſelf maſter of his perſon. He might here have finiſhed the crime, had he not meditated refinements in his vengeance: He was reſolved to hang the duke at Tyburn; and for that purpoſe bound him, and mounted him on horſeback behind one of his companions. They were advanced a good way into the fields; when the duke, making efforts for his liberty, threw himſelf to the ground, and brought down with him the aſſaſſin to whom he was faſtened. They were ſtruggling together in the mire; when Ormond's ſervants, whom the alarm had reached, came and ſaved him. Blood and his companions, firing their piſtols in a hurry at the duke, rode off, and ſaved themſelves by means of the darkneſs. Blood's crimes.

BUCKINGHAM was at firſt, with ſome appearances of reaſon, ſuſpected to be the author of this attempt. His profligate character, and his enmity againſt Ormond, expoſed him to that imputation. Oſſory ſoon after came to court; and ſeeing Buckingham ſtand by the king, his colour roſe, and he could not forbear expreſſing himſelf

CHAP. LXV. 1671.

to this purpose. "My lord, I know well, that you are "at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father: "But I give you warning; if by any means he comes to "a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the au- "thor: I shall consider you as the assassin: I shall treat "you as such; and wherever I meet you, I shall pistol "you, though you stood behind the king's chair; and I "tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be "sure I shall not fail of performance [i]." If there was here any indecorum, it was easily excused in a generous youth, when his father's life was exposed to danger.

A LITTLE after, Blood formed a design of carrying off the crown and regalia from the tower; a design, to which he was prompted, as well by the surprising boldness of the enterprize, as by the views of profit. He was near succeeding. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office, and had got out of the Tower with his prey; but was overtaken and seized, with some of his associates. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ringleader. When questioned, he frankly avowed the enterprize; but refused to tell his accomplices. "The fear of death," he said, "should never engage him, either to deny a guilt, or "betray a friend." All these extraordinary circumstances made him the general subject of conversation; and the king was moved by an idle curiosity to see and speak with a person, so noted for his courage and his crimes. Blood might now esteem himself secure of pardon; and he wanted not address to improve the opportunity. He told Charles, that he had been engaged, with others, in a design to kill him with a carabine above Battersea, where his majesty often went to bathe: That the cause of this resolution was the severity exercised over the consciences of

[i] Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 225.

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CHAP. LXV.

1671.

the godly, in reſtraining the liberty of their religious aſſemblies: That when he had taken his ſtand among the reeds, full of theſe bloody reſolutions, he found his heart checked with an awe of majeſty; and he not only relented himſelf, but diverted his aſſociates from their purpoſe: That he had long ago brought himſelf to an entire indifference about life, which he now gave for loſt; yet could he not forbear warning the king of the danger which might attend his execution: That his aſſociates had bound themſelves by the ſtricteſt oaths to revenge the death of any of their confederacy: And that no precaution or power could ſecure any one from the effects of their deſperate reſolutions.

WHETHER theſe conſiderations excited fear or admiration in the king, they confirmed his reſolution of granting a pardon to Blood; but he thought it a requiſite point of decency firſt to obtain the duke of Ormond's conſent. Arlington came to Ormond in the king's name, and deſired that he would not proſecute Blood, for reaſons which he was commanded to give him. The duke replied, that his majeſty's commands were the only reaſon, that could be given; and being ſufficient, he might therefore ſpare the reſt. Charles carried his kindneſs to Blood ſtill farther: He granted him an eſtate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland; he encouraged his attendance about his perſon; he ſhowed him great countenance, and many applied to him for promoting their pretenſions at court. And while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded, in defending the crown and regalia, was forgotten and neglected, this man, who deſerved only to be ſtared at, and deteſted as a monſter, became a kind of favourite.

ERRORS of this nature in private life have often as bad an influence as miſcarriages, in which the public is more immediately concerned. Another incident hap-

CHAP. LXV.

1671.

pened this year, which infused a general displeasure, and still greater apprehensions, into all men. The dutchess of York died; and in her last sickness, she made open profession of the Romish religion, and finished her life in that communion. This put an end to that thin disguise, which the duke had hitherto worne; and he now openly declared his conversion to the church of Rome. Unaccountable terrors of popery, ever since the accession of the house of Stuart, had prevailed throughout the nation; but these had formerly been found so groundless, and had been employed to so many bad purposes, that surmises of this nature were likely to meet with the less credit among all men of sense; and nothing but the duke's imprudent bigotry could have convinced the whole nation of his change of religion. Popery, which had hitherto been only a hideous spectre, was now become a real ground of terror; being openly and zealously embraced by the heir to the crown, a prince of industry and enterprize; while the king himself was not entirely free from like suspicions.

Duke declares himself catholic.

It is probable, that the new alliance with France inspired the duke with the courage to make open profession of his religion, and rendered him more careless of the affections and esteem of the English. This alliance became every day more apparent. Temple was declared to be no longer ambassador to the States; and Downing, whom the Dutch regarded as the inveterate enemy of their republic, was sent over in his stead. A ground of quarrel was sought by means of a yacht, dispatched for lady Temple. The captain sailed through the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coasts; and he had orders to make them strike, to fire on them, and to persevere till they should return his fire. The Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, surprised at this bravado, came on board the yacht, and expressed his willingness to pay respect to the

British

British flag, according to former practice: But that a fleet, on their own coasts, should strike to a single vessel, and that not a ship of war, was, he said, such an innovation, that he durst not, without express orders, agree to it. The captain, thinking it dangerous to renew firing in the midst of the Dutch fleet, continued his voyage; and for that neglect of orders was committed to the Tower. CHAP. LXV. 1671.

THIS incident, however, furnished Downing with a new article to encrease those vain pretences, on which it was proposed to ground the intended rupture. The English court delayed several months before they complained; lest, if they had demanded satisfaction more early, the Dutch might have had time to grant it. Even when Downing delivered his memorial, he was bound by his instructions not to accept of any satisfaction after a certain number of days; a very imperious manner of negotiating, and impracticable in Holland, where the forms of the republic render delays absolutely unavoidable. An answer, however, though refused by Downing, was sent over to London; with an ambassador extraordinary, who had orders to use every expedient, that might give satisfaction to the court of England. That court replied, that the answer of the Hollanders was ambiguous and obscure; but they would not specify the articles or expressions, which were liable to that objection. The Dutch ambassador desired the English ministry to draw the answer in what terms they pleased; and he engaged to sign it: The English ministry replied, that it was not their business to draw papers for the Dutch. The ambassador brought them the draught of an article, and asked them whether it was satisfactory: The English answered, that, when he had signed and delivered it, they would tell him their mind concerning it. The Dutchman resolved to sign it at a venture; and on his demanding a new conference,

CHAP. LXV.

1671. ference, an hour was appointed for that purpose: But when he attended, the English refused to enter upon business, and told him, that the season for negotiating was now past [k].

1672. LONG and frequent prorogations were made of the parliament; lest the houses should declare themselves with vigour against counsels, so opposite to the inclination as well as interest of the public. Could we suppose, that Charles, in his alliance against Holland, really meant the good of his people, that measure must pass for an extraordinary, nay, a romantic, strain of patriotism, which could lead him, in spite of all difficulties, and even in spite of themselves, to seek the happiness of the nation. But every step, which he took in this affair, became a proof to all men of penetration, that the present war was intended against the religion and liberties of his own subjects, even more than against the Dutch themselves. He now acted in every thing, as if he were already an absolute monarch, and was never more to lie under the controul of national assemblies.

THE long prorogations of parliament, if they freed the king from the importunate remonstrances of that assembly, were however attended with this inconvenience, that no money could be procured to carry on the military preparations against Holland. Under pretence of maintaining the triple league, which, at that very time, he had firmly resolved to break, Charles had obtained a large supply from the commons; but this money was soon exhausted by debts and expences. France had stipulated to pay two hundred thousand pounds a year during the war; but that supply was inconsiderable, compared to the immense charge of the English navy. It seemed as yet premature to venture on levying money, without consent of parlia-

[k] England's Appeal, p. 22.

ment;

ment; since the power of taxing themselves was the privilege, of which the English were, with reason, particularly jealous. Some other resource must be fallen on. The king had declared, that the staff of treasurer was ready for any one, that could find an expedient for supplying the present necessities. Shaftesbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately seized, and carried to the king, who granted him the promised reward, together with a peerage. This expedient was shutting up the Exchequer, and retaining all the payments, which should be made into it. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

It had been usual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, and to advance it upon security of the funds, by which they were afterwards re-imbursed, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, sometimes ten, per cent. for sums, which either had been consigned to them without interest, or which they had borrowed at six per cent.: Profits, which they dearly paid for by this egregious breach of public faith. The measure was so suddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confusion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. The bankers stopped payment; the merchants could answer no bills; distrust took place every where, with a stagnation of commerce, by which the public was universally affected. And men, full of dismal apprehensions, asked each other, what must be the scope of those mysterious counsels, whence the parliament and all men of honour were excluded, and which commenced by the forfeiture of public credit, and an open violation of the most solemn engagements, both foreign and domestic. 2d January. Exchequer shut.

Another measure of the court contains something laudable, when considered in itself; but if we reflect on the motive whence it proceeded, as well as the time when it was embraced, it will furnish a strong proof of the arbitrary Declaration of indulgence.

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

arbitrary and dangerous counſels, purſued at preſent by the king and his miniſtry. Charles reſolved to make uſe of his ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical matters; a power, he ſaid, which was not only inherent in him, but which had been recognized by ſeveral acts of parliament. By virtue of this authority, he iſſued a proclamation; ſuſpending the penal laws, enacted againſt all nonconformiſts or recuſants whatſoever; and granting to the proteſtant diſſenters the public exerciſe of their religion, to the catholics the exerciſe of it in private houſes. A fruitleſs experiment of this kind, oppoſed by the parliament, and retracted by the king, had already been made a few years after the reſtoration; but Charles expected, that the parliament, whenever it ſhould meet, would now be tamed to greater ſubmiſſion, and would no longer dare to controul his meaſures. Meanwhile, the diſſenters, the moſt inveterate enemies to the court, were mollified by theſe indulgent maxims: And the catholics, under their ſhelter, enjoyed more liberty than the laws had hitherto allowed them.

15th March.

At the ſame time, the act of navigation was ſuſpended by royal will and pleaſure: A meaſure, which, though a ſtretch of prerogative, ſeemed uſeful to commerce, while all the ſeamen were employed on board the royal navy. A like ſuſpenſion had been granted, during the firſt Dutch war, and was not much remarked; becauſe men had, at that time, entertained leſs jealouſy of the crown. A proclamation was alſo iſſued, containing rigorous clauſes in favour of preſſing: Another full of menaces againſt thoſe who preſumed to ſpeak undutifully of his majeſty's meaſures, and even againſt thoſe who heard ſuch diſcourſe, unleſs they informed in due time againſt the offenders: Another againſt importing or vending any ſort of painted earthen ware, "except thoſe of China, "upon pain of being grievouſly fined, and ſuffering the "utmoſt

"utmoſt puniſhment, which might be lawfully inflicted upon contemners of his majeſty's royal authority." An army had been levied; and it was found, that diſcipline could not be enforced without the exerciſe of martial law, which was therefore eſtabliſhed by order of council, though contrary to the petition of right. All theſe acts of power, how little important ſoever in themſelves, ſavoured ſtrongly of arbitrary government, and were nowiſe ſuitable to that legal adminiſtration, which the parliament, after ſuch violent convulſions and civil wars, had hoped to have eſtabliſhed in the kingdom. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

It may be worth remarking, that the lord-keeper refuſed to affix the great ſeal to the declaration for ſuſpending the penal laws; and was for that reaſon, though under other pretences, removed from his office. Shafteſbury was made chancellor in his place; and thus another member of the Cabal received the reward of his counſels.

Foreign tranſactions kept pace with theſe domeſtic occurrences. An attempt, before the declaration of war, was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet by Sir Robert Holmes. That fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, valued at a million and a half; and the hopes of ſeizing ſo rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the preſent war, and he had conſidered that capture as a principal reſource for ſupporting his military enterprizes. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yachts, had orders to go on this command; and he paſſed Sprague in the channel, who was returning home with a ſquadron from a cruize in the Mediterranean. Sprague informed him of the near approach of the Hollanders; and had not Holmes, from a deſire of engroſſing the honour and profit of the enterprize, kept the ſecret of his orders, the conjunction of theſe ſquadrons had rendered the ſucceſs infallible. When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral, Van Neſs, Attack of the Smyrna fleet. 13th March.

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

who commanded the convoy, to come on board of him! One of his captains gave a like inſidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But theſe officers were on their guard. They had received an intimation of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh; and had already put all the ſhips of war and merchant-men in an excellent poſture of defence. Three times were they valiantly aſſailed by the Engliſh; and as often did they valiantly defend themſelves. In the third attack one of the Dutch ſhips of war was taken; and three or four of their moſt inconſiderable merchant-men fell into the enemies' hands. The reſt, fighting with ſkill and courage, continued their courſe; and favoured by a miſt, got ſafe into their own harbours. This attempt is denominated perfidious and pyratical by the Dutch writers, and even by many of the Engliſh. It merits at leaſt the appellation of irregular; and as it had been attended with bad ſucceſs, it brought double ſhame upon the contrivers. The Engliſh miniſtry endeavoured to apologize for the action, by pretending that it was a caſual rencounter, ariſing from the obſtinacy of the Dutch, in refuſing the honours of the flag: But the contrary was ſo well known, that even Holmes himſelf had not the aſſurance to perſiſt in this aſſeveration.

'TILL this incident the States, notwithſtanding all the menaces and preparations of the Engliſh, never believed them thoroughly in earneſt; and had always expected, that the affair would terminate, either in ſome demands of money, or in ſome propoſals for the advancement of the prince of Orange. The French themſelves had never much reckoned on aſſiſtance from England; and ſcarcely could believe, that their ambitious projects would, contrary to every maxim of honour and policy, be forwarded by that power, which was moſt intereſted, and moſt able to oppoſe them. But Charles was too far advanced to retreat. He immediately iſſued a declaration of war againſt

CHAP. LXV.

1672. 17th March. War declared with Holland.

againſt the Dutch; and ſurely reaſons more falſe and frivolous never were employed to juſtify a flagrant violation of treaty. Some complaints are there made of injuries done to the Eaſt India company, which yet that company diſavowed: The detention of ſome Engliſh in Surinam is mentioned; though it appears, that theſe perſons had voluntarily remained there: The refuſal of a Dutch fleet on their own coaſts to ſtrike to an Engliſh yacht, is much aggravated: And to piece up all theſe pretenſions, ſome abuſive pictures are mentioned, and repreſented as a ground of quarrel. The Dutch were long at a loſs what to make of this article; till it was diſcovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the penſionary, painted by order of certain magiſtrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-houſe, had given occaſion to the complaint. In the perſpective of this portrait, the painter had drawn ſome ſhips on fire in a harbour. This was conſtrued to be Chatham, where de Wit had really diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and had acquired honour; but little did he imagine, that, while the inſult itſelf, committed in open war, had ſo long been forgiven, the picture of it ſhould draw ſuch ſevere vengeance upon his country. The concluſion of this manifeſto, where the king ſtill profeſſed his reſolution of adhering to the triple alliance, was of a piece with the reſt of it.

Lewis's declaration of war contained more dignity, if undiſguiſed violence and injuſtice could merit that appellation. He pretended only, that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been ſuch, that it did not conſiſt with his glory any longer to bear it. That monarch's preparations were in great forwardneſs; and his ambition was flattered with the moſt promiſing views of ſucceſs. Sweden was detached from the triple league: The biſhop of Munſter was engaged by the payment of ſubſidies to take part with France: The elector of Cologne had entered

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

entered into the ſame alliance; and having conſigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected; and it was from that quarter that France propoſed to invade the United Provinces. The ſtanding force of that kingdom amounted to a hundred and eighty thouſand men; and with more than half of this great army was the French king now approaching to the Dutch frontiers. The order, œconomy, and induſtry of Colbert, ſubſervient equally to the ambition of the prince and happineſs of the people, furniſhed unexhauſted treaſures: Theſe, employed by the unrelenting vigilance of Louvois, ſupplied every military preparation, and facilitated all the enterprizes of the army: Condé, Turenne, ſeconded by Luxembourg, Crequi, and the moſt renowned generals of the age, conducted this army, and by their conduct and reputation inſpired courage into every one. The monarch himſelf, ſurrounded with a brave nobility, animated his troops by the proſpect of reward, or, what was more valued, by the hopes of his approbation. The fatigues of war gave no interruption to gaiety: Its dangers furniſhed matter for glory: And in no enterprize did the genius of that gallant and polite people ever break out with more diſtinguiſhed luſtre.

THOUGH de Wit's intelligence in foreign courts was not equal to the vigilance of his domeſtic adminiſtration, he had, long before, received many ſurmiſes of this fatal confederacy; but he prepared not for defence, ſo early or with ſuch induſtry, as the danger required. An union of England with France was evidently, he ſaw, deſtructive to the intereſts of the former kingdom; and therefore, overlooking or ignorant of the humours and ſecret views of Charles, he concluded it impoſſible, that ſuch pernicious projects could ever really be carried into execution. Secure in this fallacious reaſoning, he allowed the repub-

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lic to remain too long in that defenceleſs ſituation, into which many concurring accidents had conſpired to throw her.

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

Weakneſs of the States.

By a continued and ſucceſsful application to commerce, the people were become unwarlike, and confided entirely for their defence in that mercenary army, which they maintained. After the treaty of Weſtphalia, the States, truſting to their peace with Spain, and their alliance with France, had broken a great part of this army, and did not ſupport with ſufficient vigilance the diſcipline of the troops which remained. When the ariſtocratic party prevailed, it was thought prudent to diſmiſs many of the old experienced officers, who were devoted to the houſe of Orange; and their place was ſupplied by raw youths, the ſons or kinſmen of burgomaſters, by whoſe intereſt the party was ſupported. Theſe new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, neglected their military duty; and ſome of them, it is ſaid, were even allowed to ſerve by deputies, to whom they aſſigned a ſmall part of their pay. During the war with England, all the forces of that nation had been diſbanded: Lewis's invaſion of Flanders, followed by the triple league, occaſioned the diſmiſſion of the French regiments: And the place of theſe troops, which had ever had a chief ſhare in the honour and fortune of all the wars in the Low Countries, had not been ſupplied by any new levies.

De Wit, ſenſible of this dangerous ſituation, and alarmed by the reports which came from all quarters, exerted himſelf to ſupply thoſe defects, to which it was not eaſy of a ſudden to provide a ſuitable remedy. But every propoſal, which he could make, met with oppoſition from the Orange party, now become extremely formidable. The long and uncontrouled adminiſtration of this ſtateſman had begot envy: The preſent incidents rouſed up his enemies and opponents, who aſcribed to his miſ-

CHAP. LXV. 1672.

conduct alone the bad situation of the republic: And, above all, the popular affection to the young prince, which had so long been held in violent constraint, and had thence acquired new accession of force, began to display itself, and to threaten the commonwealth with some great convulsion. William III, prince of Orange, was in the twenty-second year of his age, and gave strong indications of those great qualities, by which his life was afterwards so much distinguished. De Wit himself, by giving him an excellent education, and instructing him in all the principles of government and sound policy, had generously contributed to make his rival formidable. Dreading the precarious situation of his own party, he was always resolved, he said, by conveying to the prince the knowledge of affairs, to render him capable of serving his country, if any future emergence should ever throw the administration into his hands. The conduct of William had hitherto been extremely laudable. Notwithstanding his powerful alliances with England and Brandenburgh, he had expressed his resolution of depending entirely on the States for his advancement; and the whole tenor of his behaviour suited extremely the genius of that people. Silent and thoughtful; given to hear and to enquire; of a sound and steady understanding; firm in what he once resolved, or once denied; strongly intent on business, little on pleasure: By these virtues he engaged the attention of all men. And the people, sensible that they owed their liberty, and very existence, to his family, and remembring, that his great uncle, Maurice, had been able, even in more yearly youth, to defend them against the exorbitant power of Spain, were desirous of raising this prince to all the authority of his ancestors, and hoped, from his valour and conduct alone, to receive protection against those imminent dangers, with which they were at present threatened.

WHILE

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

WHILE theſe two powerful factions ſtruggled for ſuperiority, every ſcheme for defence was oppoſed, every project retarded. What was determined with difficulty, was executed without vigour. Levies indeed were made, and the army compleated to ſeventy thouſand men[1]: The prince was appointed both general and admiral of the commonwealth, and the whole military power was put into his hands. But new troops could not of a ſudden acquire diſcipline and experience: And the partizans of the prince were ſtill unſatisfied, as long as the *perpetual edict*, ſo it was called, remained in force; by which he was excluded from the ſtadtholderſhip, and from all ſhare in the civil adminiſtration.

IT had always been the maxim of de Wit's party to cultivate naval affairs with extreme care, and to give the fleet a preference above the army, which they repreſented as the object of an unreaſonable partiality in the princes of Orange. The two violent wars, which had of late been waged with England, had exerciſed the valour, and improved the ſkill of the ſailors. And, above all, de Ruyter, the greateſt ſea commander of the age, was cloſely connected with the Loveſtein party; and every one was diſpoſed, with confidence and alacrity, to obey him. The equipment of the fleet was therefore haſtened by de Wit; in hopes, that, by ſtriking at firſt a ſucceſsful blow, he might inſpire courage into the diſmayed States, and ſupport his own declining authority. He ſeems to have been, in a peculiar manner, enraged againſt the Engliſh; and he reſolved to take revenge on them for their conduct, of which, he thought, he himſelf and his country had ſuch reaſon to complain. By the offer of a cloſe alliance and confederacy for mutual defence, they had ſeduced the republic to quit the alliance of France; but no ſooner had ſhe embraced theſe meaſures, than

[1] Temple, vol. i. p. 75.

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

they formed leagues for her deſtruction, with that very power, which they had treacherouſly engaged her to offend. In the midſt of full peace, nay, during an intimate union, they had attacked her commerce, her only means of ſubſiſtence; and, moved by ſhameful rapacity, had invaded that property, which, from a reliance on their faith, they had hoped to find unprotected and defenceleſs. Contrary to their own viſible intereſt, as well as to their honour, they ſtill retained a malignant reſentment for her ſucceſsful concluſion of the former war; a war, which had, at firſt, ſprung from their own wanton inſolence and ambition. To repreſs ſo dangerous an enemy, would, de Wit imagined, give peculiar pleaſure, and contribute to the future ſecurity of his country, whoſe proſperity was ſo much the object of general envy.

ACTUATED by like motives and views, de Ruyter put to ſea with a formidable fleet, conſiſting of ninety-one ſhips of war and forty-four fire-ſhips. Cornelius de Wit was on board, as deputy from the States. They ſailed in queſt of the Engliſh, who were under the command of the duke of York, and who had already joined the French under mareſchal d'Etrées. The combined fleets lay at Solebay in a very negligent poſture; and Sandwich, being an experienced officer, had given the duke warning of the danger; but received, it is ſaid, ſuch an anſwer as intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehenſions. Upon the appearance of the enemy, every one ran to his poſt with precipitation, and many ſhips were obliged to cut their cables, in order to be in readineſs. Sandwich commanded the van; and though determined to conquer or to periſh, he ſo tempered his courage with prudence, that the whole fleet was viſibly indebted to him for its ſafety. He haſtened out of the bay, where it had been eaſy for de Ruyter with his fire-ſhips to have deſtroyed the combined fleets, which were

Battle of Solebay. 28th May.

crowded

crowded together; and by this wise measure he gave time to the duke of York, who commanded the main body, and to mareschal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to disengage themselves. He himself meanwhile rushed into battle with the Hollanders; and by presenting himself to every danger, had drawn upon him all the bravest of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship: He sunk another ship, which ventured to lay him aboard: He sunk three fire-ships, which endeavoured to grapple with him: And though his vessel was torn in pieces with shot, and of a thousand men she contained, near six hundred were laid dead upon the deck, he continued still to thunder with all his artillery in the midst of the enemy. But another fire-ship, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Warned by Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, he refused to make his escape, and bravely embraced death as a shelter from that ignominy, which a rash expression of the duke, he thought, had thrown upon him. Sandwich killed.

CHAP. LXV. 1672.

During this fierce engagement with Sandwich, de Ruyter remained not inactive. He attacked the duke of York, and fought him with such fury for above two hours, that of two and thirty actions, in which that admiral had been engaged, he declared this combat to be the most obstinately disputed. The duke's ship was so shattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His squadron was overpowered with numbers; till Sir Joseph Jordan, who had succeeded to Sandwich's command, came to his assistance; and the fight, being more equally balanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The loss sustained by the fleets of the two maritime powers was nearly equal, if it did not

CHAP. LXV. 1672.

rather fall more heavy on the Engliſh. The French ſuffered very little, becauſe they had ſcarcely been engaged in the action; and as this backwardneſs is not their national character, it was concluded, that they had received orders to ſpare their ſhips, while the Dutch and Engliſh ſhould weaken each other by their mutual animoſity. Almoſt all the other actions during the preſent war tended to confirm this ſuſpicion.

It might be deemed honourable for the Dutch to have fought with ſome advantage the combined fleets of two ſuch powerful nations; but nothing leſs than a complete victory could ſerve the purpoſe of de Wit, or ſave his country from thoſe calamities, which from every quarter threatened to overwhelm her. He had expected, that the French would make their attack on the ſide of Maeſtricht, which was well fortified, and provided with a good garriſon; but Lewis, taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne, reſolved to invade the enemy from that quarter, which he knew to be more feeble and defenceleſs. The armies of that elector, and thoſe of Munſter appeared on the other ſide of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States. The Dutch troops, too weak to defend ſo extenſive a frontier, were ſcattered into ſo many towns, that no conſiderable body remained in the field; and a ſtrong garriſon was ſcarcely to be found in any fortreſs. Lewis paſſed the Meuſe at Viſet; and laying ſiege to Orſoi, a town of the elector of Brandenburgh, but garriſoned by the Dutch, he carried it in three days. He divided his army, and inveſted at once Burik, Weſel, Emerik, and Rhimberg, four places regularly fortified, and not unprovided of troops: In a few days all theſe places were ſurrendered. A general aſtoniſhment had ſeized the Hollanders, from the combination of ſuch powerful princes againſt the republic; and no where was reſiſtance made, ſuitable to the ancient glory

14th May. Progreſs of the French.

of

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

or present greatness of the state. Governors without experience commanded troops without discipline; and despair had universally extinguished that sense of honour, by which alone, men, in such dangerous extremities, can be animated to a valorous defence.

Lewis advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which he prepared to pass. To all the other calamities of the Dutch was added the extreme drought of the season, by which the greatest rivers were much diminished, and in some places rendered fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the presence of their prince, full of impetuous courage, but ranged in exact order, flung themselves into the river: The infantry passed in boats: A few regiments of Dutch appeared on the other side, who were unable to make resistance. And thus was executed without danger, but not without glory, the passage of the Rhine; so much celebrated, at that time, by the flattery of the French courtiers, and transmitted to posterity by the more durable flattery of their poets. 2d June.

Each success added courage to the conquerors, and struck the vanquished with dismay. The prince of Orange, though prudent beyond his age, was but newly advanced to the command, unacquainted with the army, unknown to them; and all men, by reason of the violent factions which prevailed, were uncertain of the authority, on which they must depend. It was expected, that the fort of Skink, famous for the sieges which it had formerly sustained, would make some resistance; but it yielded to Turenne in a few days. The same general made himself master of Arnheim, Knotzembourg, and Nimeguen, as soon as he appeared before them. Doesbourg at the same time opened its gates to Lewis: Soon after, Harderwic, Amersfort, Campen, Rhenen, Viane, Elberg, Zwol, Cuilemberg, Wageninguen, Lochem, Woerden, fell into the enemies' hands. Groll and

CHAP. LXV.

1672. Deventer ſurrendered to the mareſchal Luxembourg, who commanded the troops of Munſter. And every hour brought to the States news of the rapid progreſs of the French, and of the cowardly defence of their own garriſons.

THE prince of Orange, with his ſmall and diſcouraged army, retired into the province of Holland; where he expected, from the natural ſtrength of the country, ſince all human art and courage failed, to be able to make ſome reſiſtance. The town and province of Utrecht ſent deputies, and ſurrendered themſelves to Lewis. Naerden, a place within three leagues of Amſterdam, was ſeized by the marquis of Rochfort; and had he puſhed on to Muyden, he had eaſily got poſſeſſion of it. Fourteen ſtragglers of his army having appeared before the gates of that town, the magiſtrates ſent them the keys; but a ſervant maid, who was alone in the caſtle, having raiſed the drawbridge, kept them from taking poſſeſſion of that fortreſs. The magiſtrates afterwards, finding the party ſo weak, made them drunk, and took the keys from them. Muyden is ſo near to Amſterdam, that its cannon may infeſt the ſhips which enter that city.

25th June. LEWIS with a ſplendid court made a ſolemn entry into Utrecht, full of glory, becauſe every where attended with ſucceſs; though more owing to the cowardice and miſconduct of his enemies, than to his own valour or prudence. Three provinces were already in his hands, Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Utrecht; Groninghen was threatened; Friezeland lay expoſed: The only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand; and the monarch deliberated concerning the proper meaſures for reducing them. Condé and Turenne exhorted him to diſmantle all the towns, which he had taken, except a few; and fortifying his main army by the garriſons, put himſelf in a condition of puſhing his conqueſts. Louvois, hoping that

the other provinces, weak and dismayed, would prove an easy prey, advised him to keep possession of places, which might afterwards serve to retain the people in subjection. His council was followed; though it was found, soon after, to have been the most impolitic. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

Consternation of the Dutch.

MEANWHILE the people, throughout the republic, instead of collecting a noble indignation against the haughty conqueror, discharged their rage upon their own unhappy minister, on whose prudence and integrity every one formerly bestowed the merited applause. The bad condition of the armies was laid to his charge: The ill choice of governors was ascribed to his partiality: As instances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was suspected; and his former connections with France being remembered, the populace believed, that he and his partizans had now combined to betray them to their most mortal enemy. The prince of Orange, notwithstanding his youth and inexperience, was looked on as the only saviour of the state; and men were violently driven by their fears into his party, to which they had always been led by favour and inclination.

AMSTERDAM alone seemed to retain some courage; and by forming a regular plan of defence, endeavoured to infuse spirit into the other cities. The magistrates obliged the burgesses to keep a strict watch: The populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed for the defence of the public. Some ships, which lay useless in the harbour, were refitted, and stationed to guard the city: And the sluices being opened, the neighbouring country, without regard to the damage sustained, was laid under water. All the province followed the example, and scrupled not, in this extremity, to restore to the sea those fertile fields, which with great art and expence had been won from it.

THE

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

THE ſtates were aſſembled, to conſider, whether any means were left to ſave the remains of their lately flouriſhing, and now diſtreſſed Commonwealth. Though they were ſurrounded with waters, which barred all acceſs to the enemy, their deliberations were not conducted with that tranquillity, which could alone ſuggeſt meaſures, proper to extricate them from their preſent difficulties. The nobles gave their vote, that provided their religion, liberty, and ſovereignty could be ſaved, every thing elſe ſhould without ſcruple be ſacrificed to the conqueror. Eleven towns concurred in the ſame ſentiments. Amſterdam ſingly declared againſt all treaty with inſolent and triumphant enemies: But notwithſtanding that oppoſition, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs. It was reſolved to ſacrifice to Lewis, Maeſtricht and all the frontier towns, which lay without the bounds of the ſeven provinces; and to pay him a large ſum for the charges of the war.

LEWIS deliberated with his miniſters Louvois and Pomponne, concerning the meaſures which he ſhould embrace in the preſent emergence; and fortunately for Europe, he ſtill preferred the violent counſels of the former. He offered to evacuate his conqueſts on condition, that all duties lately impoſed on the commodities of France, ſhould be taken off: That the public exerciſe of the Romiſh religion ſhould be permitted in the United Provinces; the churches ſhared with the catholics; and their prieſts maintained by appointments from the States: That all the frontier towns of the republic ſhould be yielded to him, together with Nimeguen, Skink, Knotzembourg, and that part of Guelderland which lay on the other ſide of the Rhine; as likewiſe the iſle of Bommel, that of Voorn, the fortreſs of St. Andrew, thoſe of Louveſtein and Crevecœur: That the States ſhould pay him the ſum of twenty millions of

livres

livres for the charges of the war: That they should every year send him a solemn embassy, and present him with a gold medal, as an acknowledgment, that they owed to him the preservation of that liberty, which, by the assistance of his predecessors, they had formerly acquired: And that they should give entire satisfaction to the king of England: And he allowed them but ten days for the acceptance of these demands. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

THE ambassadors, sent to London, met with still worse reception: No minister was allowed to treat with them; and they were retained in a kind of confinement. But notwithstanding this rigorous conduct of the court, the presence of the Dutch ambassadors excited the sentiments of tender compassion, and even indignation, among the people in general, but especially among those who could foresee the aim and result of those dangerous counsels. The two most powerful monarchs, they said, in Europe, the one by land, the other by sea, have, contrary to the faith of solemn treaties, combined to exterminate an illustrious republic: What a dismal prospect does their success afford to the neighbours of the one, and to the subjects of the other? Charles had formed the triple league, in order to restrain the power of France: A sure proof, that he does not now err from ignorance. He had courted and obtained the applauses of his people by that wise measure: As he now adopts contrary counsels, he must surely expect by their means to render himself independent of his people, whose sentiments are become so indifferent to him. During the entire submission of the nation, and dutiful behaviour of the parliament, dangerous projects, without provocation, are formed to reduce them to subjection; and all the foreign interests of the people are sacrificed, in order the more surely to bereave them of their domestic liberties. Lest any instance of freedom should remain within their view, the

CHAP. LXV. 1672.

the United Provinces, the real barrier of England, muſt be abandoned to the moſt dangerous enemy of England; and by an univerſal combination of tyranny againſt laws and liberty, all mankind, who have retained, in any degree, their precious, though hitherto precarious, birth-rights, are for ever to ſubmit to ſlavery and injuſtice.

THOUGH the fear of giving umbrage to his confederate had engaged Charles to treat the Dutch ambaſſadors with ſuch rigour, he was not altogether without uneaſineſs, on account of the rapid and unexpected progreſs of the French arms. Were Holland entirely conquered, its whole commerce and naval force, he perceived, muſt become an acceſſion to France; the Spaniſh Low Countries muſt ſoon follow; and Lewis, now independent of his ally, would no longer think it his intereſt to ſupport him againſt his diſcontented ſubjects. Charles, though he never carried his attention to very diſtant conſequences, could not but foreſee theſe obvious events; and though incapable of envy or jealouſy, he was touched with anxiety, when he found every thing yield to the French arms, while ſuch vigorous reſiſtance was made to his own. He ſoon diſmiſſed the Dutch ambaſſadors, leſt they ſhould cabal among his ſubjects, who bore them great favour: But he ſent over Buckingham and Arlington, and ſoon after lord Halifax, to negotiate anew with the French king, in the preſent proſperous ſituation of that monarch's affairs.

THESE miniſters paſſed through Holland; and as they were ſuppoſed to bring peace to the diſtreſſed republic, they were received every where with the loudeſt acclamations. "God bleſs the king of England! God bleſs "the prince of Orange! Confuſion to the States;" This was every where the cry of the populace. The ambaſſadors had ſeveral conferences with the States and the prince of Orange; but made no reaſonable advances towards

towards an accommodation. They went to Utrecht, where they renewed the league with Lewis, and agreed, that neither of the kings ſhould make peace with Holland but by common conſent. They next gave in their pretenſions, of which the following are the principal articles: That the Dutch ſhould give up the honour of the flag, without the leaſt reſerve or limitation; nor ſhould whole fleets, even on the coaſt of Holland, refuſe to ſtrike or lower their topſails to the ſmalleſt ſhip, carrying the Britiſh flag: That all perſons, guilty of treaſon againſt the king, or of writing ſeditious libels, ſhould, on complaint, be baniſhed for ever the dominions of the States; That the Dutch ſhould pay the king a million ſterling towards the charges of the war, together with ten thouſand pounds a-year for permiſſion to fiſh on the Britiſh ſeas: That they ſhould ſhare the Indian trade with the Engliſh: That the prince of Orange and his deſcendants ſhould enjoy the ſovereignty of the United Provinces; at leaſt, that they ſhould be inveſted with the dignities of Stadtholder, Admiral, and General, in as ample a manner as had ever been enjoyed by any of his anceſtors: And that the iſle of Walcheren, the city and caſtle of Sluis, together with the iſles of Cadſant, Gorée, and Vorne, ſhould be put into the king's hands, as a ſecurity for the performance of articles. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

THE terms propoſed by Lewis bereaved the republic of all ſecurity againſt any invaſion by land from France: Thoſe demanded by Charles expoſed them equally to an invaſion by ſea from England: And when both were united, they appeared abſolutely intolerable, and reduced the Hollanders, who ſaw no means of defence, to the utmoſt deſpair. What extremely augmented their diſtreſs, were the violent factions, with which they continued to be every where agitated. De Wit, too pertinacious in defence of his own ſyſtem of liberty, while the

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

the very being of the Commonwealth was threatened, ſtill perſevered in oppoſing the repeal of the perpetual edict, now become the object of horror to the Dutch populace. Their rage at laſt broke all bounds, and bore every thing before it. They roſe in an inſurrection at Dort, and by force conſtrained their burgo-maſters to ſign the repeal, ſo much demanded. This proved a ſignal of a general revolt throughout all the provinces.

30th June.

Prince of Orange Stadtholder.

At Amſterdam, the Hague, Middlebourg, Rotterdam, the people flew to arms, and trampling under foot the authority of their magiſtrates, obliged them to ſubmit to the prince of Orange. They expelled from their office ſuch as diſpleaſed them: They required the prince to appoint others in their place: And agreeably to the proceedings of the populace in all ages, provided they might wreak their vengeance on their ſuperiors, they expreſſed great indifference for the protection of their civil liberties.

The ſuperior talents and virtues of de Wit made him, on this occaſion, the chief object of envy, and expoſed him to the utmoſt rage of popular prejudice. Four aſſaſſins, actuated by no other motive than miſtaken zeal, had aſſaulted him in the ſtreets; and after giving him many wounds, had left him for dead. One of them was puniſhed: The others were never queſtioned for their crime. His brother, Cornelius, who had behaved with prudence and courage on board the fleet, was obliged by ſickneſs to come aſhore; and he was now confined to his houſe at Dort. Some aſſaſſins broke in upon him; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that his family and ſervants could repel their violence. At Amſterdam, the houſe of the brave de Ruyter, the ſole reſource of the diſtreſſed commonwealth, was ſurrounded by the enraged populace; and his wife and children were for ſome time expoſed to the moſt imminent danger.

One

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

ONE Tichelaer, a barber, a man noted for infamy, accuſed Cornelius de Wit of endeavouring by bribes to engage him in the deſign of poiſoning the prince of Orange. The accuſation, though attended with the moſt improbable and even abſurd circumſtances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude; and Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature. The judges, either blinded by the ſame prejudices, or not daring to oppoſe the popular torrent, condemned him to ſuffer the queſtion. This man, who had bravely ſerved his country in war, and who had been inveſted with the higheſt dignities, was delivered into the hands of the executioner, and torn in pieces by the moſt inhuman torments. Amidſt the ſevere agonies which he endured, he ſtill made proteſtations of his innocence, and frequently repeated an ode of Horace, which contained ſentiments ſuited to his deplorable condition.

Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum, &c. [m]

[m] Which may be thus tranſlated.

The man, whoſe mind on virtue bent,
Purſues ſome greatly good intent,
With undiverted aim,
Serene beholds the angry crowd;
Nor can their clamours, fierce and loud,
His ſtubborn honour tame.

Not the proud tyrant's fierceſt threat,
Nor ſtorms, that from their dark retreat
The lawleſs ſurges wake,
Not Jove's dread bolt that ſhakes the pole,
The firmer purpoſe of his ſoul
With all its power can ſhake.

Shou'd Nature's frame in ruins fall,
And chaos o'er the ſinking ball
Reſume primæval ſway,
His courage chance and fate defies,
Nor feels the wreck of earth and ſkies
Obſtruct its deſtin'd way. BLACKLOCKE.

THE

CHAP. LXV. 1672.

THE judges, however, condemned him to loſe his offices, and to be baniſhed the commonwealth. The penſionary, who had not been terrified from performing the part of a kind brother, and faithful friend during this proſecution, reſolved not to deſert him on account of the unmerited infamy, which was endeavoured to be thrown upon him. He came to his brother's priſon, determined to accompany him to the place of his exile. The ſignal was given to the populace. They roſe in arms: They broke open the doors of the priſon; they pulled out the two brothers; and a thouſand hands vied who ſhould firſt be embrued in their blood. Even their death did not ſatiate the brutal rage of the multitude. They exerciſed on the dead bodies of thoſe virtuous citizens, indignities too ſhocking to be recited; and till tired with their own fury, they permitted not the friends of the deceaſed to approach, or to beſtow on them the honours of a funeral, ſilent and unattended.

Maſſacre of the de Wits.

THE maſſacre of the de Wits put an end for the time to the remains of their party; and all men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in expreſſing the moſt implicit obedience to the prince of Orange. The republic, though half ſubdued by foreign force, and as yet diſmayed by its misfortunes, was now firmly united under one leader, and began to collect the remains of its priſtine vigour. William, worthy of that heroic family from which he ſprang, adopted ſentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He bent all his efforts againſt the public enemy: He ſought not againſt his country any advantages, which might be dangerous to civil liberty. Thoſe intolerable conditions, demanded by their inſolent enemies, he exhorted the States to reject with ſcorn; and by his advice they put an end to negotiations, which ſerved only to break the courage of their fellow-citizens, and delay the aſſiſtance of their allies.

Good conduct of the prince.

He

He ſhowed them, that the numbers and riches of the people, aided by the advantages of ſituation, would ſtill be ſufficient, if they abandoned not themſelves to deſpair, to reſiſt, at leaſt retard, the progreſs of their enemies, and preſerve the remaining provinces, till the other nations of Europe, ſenſible of the common danger, could come to their relief. He repreſented, that, as envy at their opulence and liberty had produced this mighty combination againſt them, they would in vain expect by conceſſions to ſatisfy foes, whoſe pretenſions were as little bounded by moderation as by juſtice. He exhorted them to remember the generous valour of their anceſtors, who, yet in the infancy of the ſtate, preferred liberty to every human conſideration; and rouzing their ſpirits to an obſtinate defence, repelled all the power, riches, and military diſcipline of Spain. And he profeſſed himſelf willing to tread in the ſteps of his illuſtrious predeceſſors, and hoped, that, as they had honoured him with the ſame affection, which their anceſtors paid the former princes of Orange, they would ſecond his efforts with the ſame conſtancy and manly fortitude. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

The ſpirit of the young prince infuſed itſelf into his hearers. Thoſe who lately entertained thoughts of yielding their necks to ſubjection were now bravely determined to reſiſt the haughty victor, and to defend thoſe laſt remains of their native ſoil, of which neither the irruptions of Lewis nor the inundation of waters had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground fail them on which they might combat, they were ſtill reſolved not to yield the generous ſtrife; but flying to their ſettlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in thoſe remote regions, and preſerve alive, even in the climates of ſlavery, that liberty, of which Europe was become unworthy. Already they concerted meaſures for executing this extraordinary reſolution; and found, that the veſſels

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

contained in their harbours could transport above two hundred thousand inhabitants to the East Indies.

THE combined princes, finding at last some appearance of opposition, bent all their efforts to seduce the prince of Orange, on whose valour and conduct the fate of the commonwealth entirely depended. The sovereignty of the province of Holland was offered him, and the protection of England and France, to insure him, as well against the invasion of foreign enemies, as the insurrection of his subjects. All proposals were generously rejected; and the prince declared his resolution to retire into Germany, and to pass his life in hunting on his lands there, rather than abandon the liberty of his country, or betray the trust reposed in him. When Buckingham urged the inevitable destruction which hung over the United Provinces, and asked him, whether he did not see, that the commonwealth was ruined; *There is one certain means*, replied the prince, *by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin; I will die in the last ditch.*

THE people in Holland had been much incited to espouse the prince's party, by the hopes, that the king of England, pleased with his nephew's elevation, would abandon those dangerous engagements, into which he had entered, and would afford his protection to the distressed republic. But all these hopes were soon found to be fallacious. Charles still persisted in his alliance with France; and the combined fleets approached the coast of Holland, with an English army on board, commanded by count Schomberg. It is pretended, that an unusual tide carried them off the coast; and that Providence thus interposed, in an extraordinary manner, to save the republic from the imminent danger, to which it was exposed. Very tempestuous weather, it is certain, prevailed all the rest of the season; and the combined fleets either

were

were blown to a distance, or durst not approach a coast, which might prove fatal to them. Lewis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no farther success was likely for the present to attend his arms, had retired to Versailles. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

THE other nations of Europe regarded the subjection of Holland as the forerunner of their own slavery, and retained no hopes of defending themselves, should such a mighty accession be made to the already exorbitant power of France. The emperor, though he lay at a distance, and was naturally slow in his undertakings, began to put himself in motion; Brandenburgh shewed a disposition to support the States; Spain had sent some forces to their assistance; and by the present efforts of the prince of Orange, and the prospect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began already to appear. Groninghen was the first place that stopped the progress of the enemy: The bishop of Munster was repulsed from before that town, and obliged to raise the siege with loss and dishonour. Naerden was attempted by the prince of Orange; but mareschal Luxembourg, breaking in upon his entrenchments with a sudden irruption, obliged him to abandon the enterprize.

THERE was no ally, on whom the Dutch more relied for assistance, than the parliament of England, which the king's necessities at last obliged him to assemble. The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed on this session, which met after prorogations continued for near two years. It was evident how much the king dreaded assembling his parliament; and the discontents, universally excited by the bold measures entered into, both in foreign and domestic administration, had given but too just foundation for his apprehensions. 1673. 4th of Feb. A parliament.

CHAP. LXV.

1673.

THE king, however, in his ſpeech, addreſſed them with all the appearance of cordiality and confidence. He ſaid, that he would have aſſembled them ſooner, had he not been deſirous to allow them leiſure for attending their private affairs, as well as to give his people reſpite from taxes and impoſitions: That ſince their laſt meeting, he had been forced into a war, not only juſt but neceſſary; neceſſary both for the honour and intereſt of the nation: That in order to have peace at home, while he had war abroad, he had iſſued his declaration of indulgence to diſſenters, and had found many good effects to reſult from that meaſure: That he heard of ſome exceptions, which had been taken to this exerciſe of power: but he would tell them plainly, that he was reſolved to ſtick to his declaration; and would be much offended at any contradiction: And that though a rumour had been ſpread, as if the new levied army had been intended to controul law and property, he regarded that jealouſy as ſo frivolous, that he was reſolved to augment his forces next ſpring, and did not doubt but they would conſider the neceſſity of them in their ſupplies. The reſt of the buſineſs he left to the chancellor.

THE chancellor enlarged on the ſame topics, and added many extraordinary poſitions of his own. He told them, that the Hollanders were the common enemies of all monarchies, eſpecially that of England, their only competitor for commerce and naval power, and the ſole obſtacle to their views of attaining an univerſal empire, as extenſive as that of ancient Rome: That, even during their preſent diſtreſs and danger, they were ſo intoxicated with theſe ambitious projects, as to ſlight all treaty, nay, to refuſe all ceſſation of hoſtilities: That the king, in entering on this war, did no more than proſecute thoſe maxims, which had engaged the parliament

to adviſe and approve of the laſt; and he might therefore ſafely ſay, that *it was their war:* That the States being the eternal enemies of England, both by intereſt and inclination, the parliament had wiſely judged it neceſſary to extirpate them, and had laid it down as an eternal maxim, that *delenda eſt Carthago*, this hoſtile government by all means is to be ſubverted: And that though the Dutch pretended to have aſſurances, that the parliament would furniſh no ſupplies to the king, he was confident, that this hope, in which they extremely truſted, would ſoon fail them. CHAP. LXV. 1673.

BEFORE the commons entered upon buſineſs, there lay before them an affair, which diſcovered, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king; and the meaſures, taken upon it, proved, that the houſe was not at preſent in a diſpoſition to ſubmit to them. It had been the conſtant undiſputed practice, ever ſince the parliament in 1604, for the houſe, in caſe of any vacancy, to iſſue out writs for new elections; and the chancellor, who, before that time, had had ſome precedents in his favour, had ever afterwards abſtained from all exerciſe of that authority. This indeed was one of the firſt ſteps, which the commons had taken in eſtabliſhing and guarding their privileges; and nothing could be more requiſite than this precaution, in order to prevent the clandeſtine iſſuing of writs, and to enſure a fair and free election. No one but ſo deſperate a miniſter as Shafteſbury, who had entered into a regular plan for reducing the people to ſubjection, could have entertained thoughts of breaking in upon a practice ſo reaſonable and ſo well eſtabliſhed, or could have hoped to ſucceed in ſo bold an enterprize. Several members had taken their ſeats upon irregular writs iſſued by the chancellor; but the houſe was no ſooner aſſembled and the ſpeaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made againſt them; and

CHAP. LXV. 1673.

the members themſelves had the modeſty to withdraw. Their election was declared null; and new writs, in the uſual form, were iſſued by the ſpeaker.

THE next ſtep taken by the commons had the appearance of ſome more complaiſance; but in reality proceeded from the ſame ſpirit of liberty and independence. They entered a reſolution, that, in order to ſupply his majeſty's extraordinary occaſions, for that was the expreſſion employed, they would grant eighteen months aſſeſſment, at the rate of 70,000 pounds a month, amounting in the whole to 1,260,000 pounds. Though unwilling to come to a violent breach with the king, they would not expreſs the leaſt approbation of the war; and they gave him the proſpect of this ſupply, only that they might have permiſſion to proceed peaceably in the redreſs of the other grievances, of which they had ſuch reaſon to complain.

No grievance was more alarming, both on account of the ſecret views from which it proceeded, and the conſequences which might attend it, than the declaration of indulgence. A remonſtrance was immediately framed againſt that exerciſe of prerogative. The king defended his meaſure. The commons perſiſted in their oppoſition to it; and they repreſented, that ſuch a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free courſe of the laws, and alter the legiſlative power, which had always been acknowledged to reſide in the king and the two houſes. All men were in expectation, with regard to the iſſue of this extraordinary affair. The king ſeemed engaged in honour to ſupport his meaſure; and in order to prevent all oppoſition, he had poſitively declared that he would ſupport it. The commons were obliged to perſevere, not only becauſe it was diſhonourable to be foiled, where they could plead ſuch ſtrong reaſons, but alſo becauſe, if the king prevailed in his pretenſions, an

end seemed to be put to all the legal limitations of the constitution. CHAP. LXV. 1673.

It is evident, that Charles was now come to that delicate crisis, which he ought at first to have foreseen, when he embraced those desperate counsels; and his resolutions, in such an event, ought long ago to have been entirely fixed and determined. Besides his usual guards, he had an army encamped at Blackheath under the command of mareschal Schomberg, a foreigner; and many of the officers were of the catholic religion. His ally, the French king, he might expect, would second him, if force became requisite for restraining his discontented subjects, and supporting the measures, which by common consent they had agreed to pursue. But the king was startled, when he approached so dangerous a precipice, as that which lay before him. Were violence once offered, there could be no return, he saw, to mutual confidence and trust with his people; the perils attending foreign succours, especially from so mighty a prince, were sufficiently apparent; and the success, which his own arms had met with in the war, was not so great, as to encrease his authority, or terrify the malecontents from opposition. The desire of power, likewise, which had engaged Charles in these precipitate measures, had less proceeded, we may observe, from ambition than from love of ease. Strict limitations of the constitution rendered the conduct of business complicated and troublesome; and it was impossible for him, without much contrivance and intrigue, to procure the money necessary for his pleasures, or even for the regular support of government. When the prospect, therefore, of such dangerous opposition presented itself, the same love of ease inclined him to retract what it seemed so difficult to maintain; and his turn of mind, naturally pliant and careless, made him find little objection to a measure, which a more haughty

CHAP. LXV.

1673.

prince would have embraced with the utmoſt reluctance. That he might yield with the better grace, he aſked the opinion of the houſe of peers, who adviſed him to comply with the commons. Accordingly the king ſent for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the ſeals. The commons expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction with this meaſure, and the moſt entire duty to his majeſty. Charles aſſured them, that he would willingly paſs any law, offered him, which might tend to give them ſatisfaction in all their juſt grievances.

Declaration of indulgence recalled.

SHAFTESBURY, when he found the king recede at once from ſo capital a point, which he had publicly declared his reſolution to maintain, concluded, that all ſchemes for enlarging royal authority were vaniſhed, and that Charles was utterly incapable of purſuing ſuch difficult and ſuch hazardous meaſures. The parliament, he foreſaw, might puſh their enquiries into thoſe counſels, which were ſo generally odious; and the king, from the ſame facility of diſpoſition, might abandon his miniſters to their vengeance. He was reſolved, therefore, to make his peace in time with that party, which was likely to predominate, and to atone for all his violences in favour of monarchy, by like violences in oppoſition to it. Never turn was more ſudden, or leſs calculated to ſave appearances. Immediately, he entered into all the cabals of the country party; and diſcovered to them, perhaps magnified, the arbitrary deſigns of the court, in which he himſelf had borne ſo deep a ſhare. He was received with open arms by that party, who ſtood in need of ſo able a leader; and no queſtions were aſked with regard to his late apoſtacy. The various factions, into which the nation had been divided, and the many ſudden revolutions, to which the public had been expoſed, had tended much to debauch the minds of men,

men, and to deſtroy the ſenſe of honour and decorum in their public conduct. CHAP. LXV. 1673.

But the parliament, though ſatisfied with the king's compliance, had not loſt all thoſe apprehenſions, to which the meaſures of the court had given ſo much foundation. A law paſſed for impoſing a *teſt* on all who ſhould enjoy any public office. Beſides taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and receiving the ſacrament in the eſtabliſhed church; they were obliged to abjure all belief in the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. As the diſſenters had ſeconded the efforts of the commons againſt the king's declaration of indulgence, and ſeemed reſolute to accept of no toleration in an illegal manner, they had acquired great favour with the parliament; and a project was adopted to unite the whole proteſtant intereſt againſt the common enemy, who now began to appear formidable. A bill paſſed the commons for the eaſe and relief of the proteſtant nonconformiſts; but met with ſome difficulties, at leaſt delays, in the houſe of peers.

THE reſolution for ſupply was carried into a law; as a recompence to the king for his conceſſions. An act, likewiſe, of general pardon and indemnity was paſſed, which ſcreened the miniſters from all farther enquiry. The parliament probably thought, that the beſt method of reclaiming the criminals was to ſhew them, that their caſe was not deſperate. Even the remonſtrance, which the commons voted of their grievances, may be regarded as a proof, that their anger was, for that time, appeaſed. None of the capital points are there touched on; the breach of the triple league, the French alliance, or the ſhutting up of the exchequer. The ſole grievances mentioned are an arbitrary impoſition on coals for providing convoys, the exerciſe of military law, the quartering and preſſing of ſoldiers; and they prayed, that, after the concluſion

CHAP. LXV.

1673.

conclusion of the war, the whole army should be disbanded. The king gave them a gracious, though an evasive answer. When business was finished, the two houses adjourned themselves.

29th of March.

THOUGH the king had, for the time, receded from his declaration of indulgence, and thereby had tacitly relinquished the dispensing power, he was still resolved, notwithstanding his bad success both at home and abroad, to persevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and consequently in all those secret views, whatever they were, which depended on those fatal measures. The money, granted by parliament, sufficed to equip a fleet, of which prince Rupert was declared admiral: For the duke was set aside by the test. Sir Edward Sprague and the earl of Ossory commanded under the prince. A French squadron joined them, commanded by d'Etrées. The combined fleets set sail towards the coast of Holland, and found the enemy, lying at anchor, within the sands at Schonvelt. There is a natural confusion attending sea-fights, even beyond other military transactions; derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the smoke and darkness, in which every thing is there involved. No wonder, therefore, that accounts of these battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; especially when delivered by writers of the hostile nations, who take pleasure in exalting the advantages of their own countrymen, and depressing those of the enemy. All we can say with certainty of this battle, is, that both sides boasted of the victory; and we may thence infer, that the event was not decisive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their harbours. In a week, they were refitted, and presented themselves again to the combined fleets. A new action ensued, not more decisive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great obstinacy

28th of May. Sea-fight.

4th June. Another Sea-fight.

on

on either side; but whether the Dutch or the allies first retired seems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loss in the former of these actions fell chiefly on the French, whom the English, diffident of their intentions, took care to place under their own squadrons; and they thereby exposed them to all the fire of the enemy. There seems not to have been a ship lost on either side in the second engagement.

It was sufficient glory to de Ruyter, that, with a fleet much inferior to the combined squadrons of France and England, he could fight them without any notable disadvantage; and it was sufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of a descent in Zealand, which, had it taken place, had endangered in the present circumstances, the total overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth. Prince Rupert was also suspected not to favour the king's projects of subduing Holland, or enlarging his authority at home; and from these motives, he was thought not to have pressed so hard on the enemy, as his well-known valour gave reason to expect. It is indeed remarkable, that, during this war, though the English with their allies much over-matched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, though often overborn by numbers, they still exerted themselves with the greatest courage, and always acquired great renown, sometimes even signal victories. But they were disgusted at the present measures, which they esteemed pernicious to their country; they were not satisfied in the justice of the quarrel; and they entertained a perpetual jealousy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would, with much more pleasure, have destroyed than even the enemy themselves.

If prince Rupert was not favourable to the designs of the court, he enjoyed as little favour from the court, at least

CHAP. LXV.

1673.

least from the duke, who, though he could no longer command the fleet, still possessed the chief authority in the admiralty. The prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, shot, provisions, beer, and even water; and he went into harbour, that he might refit his ships, and supply their numerous necessities. After some weeks he was refitted; and he again put to sea.

11th of August. Another Sea-fight.

The hostile fleets met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the last battle, which, during the course of so many years, these neighbouring maritime powers have disputed with each other. De Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former: For the prince of Orange had reconciled these two gallant rivals; and they retained nothing of their former animosity, except that emulation, which made them exert themselves with more distinguished bravery against the enemies of their country. Brankert was opposed to d'Etrées, de Ruyter to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague. It is remarkable, that in all actions these brave admirals last mentioned had still selected each other, as the only antagonists worthy each others valour; and no decisive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle, as if there were no mean between death and victory.

D'Etrees and all the French squadron, except rear admiral Martel, kept at a distance; and Brankert, instead of attacking them, bore down to the assistance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with prince Rupert. On no occasion did the prince acquire more deserved honour: His conduct, as well as valour, shone out with signal lustre. Having disengaged his squadron from the numerous enemies, with which he was every where surrounded, and having joined Sir John Chichely, his rear admiral, who had been separated from him, he made haste to the relief of Sprague, who was hard pressed

by

by Tromp's ſquadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague firſt engaged, was ſo diſabled, that he was obliged to hoiſt his flag on board the St. George; while Tromp was for a like reaſon obliged to quit his ſhip, the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmoſt fury by theſe valorous rivals, and by the rear admirals, their ſeconds. Oſſory, rear admiral to Sprague, was preparing to board Tromp, when he ſaw the St. George terribly torn, and in a manner diſabled. Sprague was leaving her in order to hoiſt his flag on board a third ſhip, and return to the charge; when a ſhot, which had paſſed through the St. George, took his boat, and ſunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himſelf, who beſtowed on his valour the deſerved praiſes. CHAP. LXV. 1673.

PRINCE RUPERT found affairs in this dangerous ſituation, and ſaw moſt of the ſhips in Sprague's ſquadron diſabled from fight. The engagement however was renewed, and became very cloſe and bloody. The prince threw the enemy into diſorder. To encreaſe it, he ſent among them two fire-ſhips; and at the ſame time made a ſignal to the French to bear down, which if they had done, a deciſive victory muſt have enſued. But the prince, when he ſaw that they neglected his ſignal, and obſerved that moſt of his ſhips were in no condition to keep the ſea long, wiſely provided for their ſafety by making eaſy ſail towards the Engliſh coaſt. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all the actions fought during the preſent war.

THE turn, which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land, was more favourable. The prince of Orange beſieged and took Naerden; and from this ſucceſs gave his country reaſon to hope for ſtill more proſperous enterprizes. Montecuculi, who commanded the Imperialiſts on the Upper Rhine, deceived, by the moſt artful conduct,

CHAP. LXV.

1673.

conduct, the vigilance and penetration of Turenne, and making a ſudden march, ſat down before Bonne. The prince of Orange's conduct was no leſs maſterly; while he eluded all the French generals, and leaving them behind him, joined his army to that of the Imperialiſts. Bonne was taken in a few days: Several other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies: And the communication being thus cut off between France and the United Provinces, Lewis was obliged to recal his forces, and to abandon all his conqueſts, with greater rapidity than he had at firſt made them. The taking of Maeſtricht was the only advantage, which he gained this campaign.

Congreſs of Cologne.

A CONGRESS was opened at Cologne under the mediation of Sweden; but with ſmall hopes of ſucceſs. The demands of the two kings were ſuch as muſt have reduced the Hollanders to perpetual ſervitude. In proportion as the affairs of the States roſe, the kings ſunk in their demands; but the States ſtill ſunk lower in their offers; and it was found impoſſible for the parties ever to agree on any conditions. After the French evacuated Holland, the congreſs broke up; and the ſeizure of prince William of Furſtenburg by the imperialiſts afforded the French and Engliſh a good pretence for leaving Cologne. The Dutch ambaſſadors in their memorials expreſſed all the haughtineſs and diſdain, ſo natural to a free ſtate, which had met with ſuch unmerited ill uſage.

20th Oct. A parliament.

THE parliament of England was now aſſembled, and diſcovered much greater ſymptoms of ill humour, than had appeared in the laſt ſeſſion. They had ſeen for ſome time a negociation of marriage carried on between the duke of York and the archdutcheſs of Inſpruc, a catholic of the Auſtrian family; and they had made no oppoſition. But when that negociation failed, and the duke applied

applied to a princeſs of the houſe of Modena, then in close conjunction with France; this circumſtance, joined to ſo many other grounds of diſcontent, raiſed the commons into a flame; and they remonſtrated with the greateſt zeal againſt the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonſtrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The commons ſtill inſiſted; and proceeding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the ſtanding army a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more ſupply, unleſs it appeared, that the Dutch were ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all reaſonable conditions of peace. To cut ſhort theſe diſagreeable attacks, the king reſolved to prorogue the parliament; and with that intention he came unexpectedly to the houſe of peers, and ſent the uſher to ſummon the commons. It happened, that the ſpeaker and the uſher nearly met at the door of the houſe; but the ſpeaker being within, ſome of the members ſuddenly ſhut the door, and cried, *To the chair, to the chair*; while others cried, *The black rod is at the door*. The ſpeaker was hurried to the chair; and the following motions were inſtantly made: That the alliance with France is a grievance; that the evil counſellors about the king are a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be truſted or employed. There was a general cry, *To the queſtion, to the queſtion*: But the uſher knocking violently at the door, the ſpeaker leaped from the chair, and the houſe roſe in great confuſion.

CHAP. LXV. 1673. 4th Nov.

During the interval, Shafteſbury, whoſe intrigues with the malcontent party were now become notorious, was diſmiſſed from the office of chancellor; and the great ſeal was given to ſir Heneage Finch, under the title of lord keeper. The teſt had incapacitated Clifford; and the

CHAP. LXV.

1673. the white ſtaff was conferred on ſir Thomas Oſborne, ſoon after created earl of Danby, a miniſter of ability, who had riſen by his parliamentary talents. Clifford retired into the country, and ſoon after died.

1674. 9th Feb. THE parliament had been prorogued, in order to give the duke leiſure to finiſh his marriage; but the king's neceſſities ſoon obliged him again to aſſemble them; and by ſome popular acts he paved the way for the ſeſſion. But all his efforts were in vain. The diſguſt of the commons was fixed in foundations too deep to be eaſily removed. They began with applications for a general faſt; by which they intimated, that the nation was in a very calamitous condition: They addreſſed againſt the king's guards, which they repreſented as dangerous to liberty, and even as illegal, ſince they had never yet received the ſanction of parliament: They took ſome ſteps towards eſtabliſhing a new and more rigorous teſt againſt popery: And what chiefly alarmed the court, they made an attack on the members of the cabal, to whoſe pernicious counſels they imputed all their preſent grievances. Clifford was dead: Shafteſbury had made his peace with the country party, and was become their leader: Buckingham was endeavouring to imitate Shafteſbury; but his intentions were as yet known to very few. A motion was therefore made in the houſe of commons for his impeachment: He deſired to be heard at the bar; but expreſſed himſelf in ſo confuſed and ambiguous a manner, as gave little ſatisfaction. He was required to anſwer preciſely to certain queries, which they propoſed to him. Theſe regarded all the articles of miſconduct above-mentioned; and among the reſt, the following query ſeems remarkable. "By whoſe advice was the "army brought up to over-awe the debates and reſolu-

"tions

"tions of the houſe of commons?" This ſhews to what length the ſuſpicions of the houſe were at that time carried. Buckingham, in all his anſwers, endeavoured to exculpate himſelf, and to load Arlington. He ſucceeded not in the former intention: The commons voted an addreſs for his removal. But Arlington, who was on many accounts obnoxious to the houſe, was attacked. Articles were drawn up againſt him; though the impeachment was never proſecuted. CHAP. LXV. 1674.

THE king plainly ſaw, that he could expect no ſupply from the commons for carrying on a war, ſo odious to them. He reſolved therefore to make a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had propoſed through the canal of the Spaniſh ambaſſador. With a cordiality, which, in the preſent diſpoſition on both ſides, was probably but affected, but which was obliging, he aſked advice of the parliament. The parliament unanimouſly concurred, both in thanks for this gracious condeſcenſion, and in their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the moſt extenſive terms: A regulation of trade was agreed to: All poſſeſſions were reſtored to the ſame condition as before the war: The Engliſh planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleaſure: And the States agreed to pay to the king the ſum of eight hundred thouſand patacoons, near three hundred thouſand pounds. Four days after the parliament was prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people. Spain had declared, that ſhe could no longer ſtand neuter, if hoſtilities were continued againſt Holland; and a ſenſible decay of trade was foreſeen, in caſe a rupture ſhould enſue with that kingdom. The proſpect of this loſs contributed very much to encreaſe the national averſion to the preſent war, and to enliven the joy for its concluſion. Peace with Holland. 28th Feb.

CHAP. LXV.

1674.

THERE was in the French ſervice a great body of Engliſh, to the number of ten thouſand men, who had acquired honour in every action, and had contributed greatly to the ſucceſſes of Lewis. Theſe troops, Charles ſaid, he was bound by treaty not to recall; but he obliged himſelf to the States by a ſecret article not to allow them to be recruited. His partiality to France prevented a ſtrict execution of this engagement.

NOTES

TO THE

SEVENTH VOLUME.

NOTE [A], p. 41.

THAT Laud's ſeverity was not extreme, appears from this fact, that he cauſed the acts or records of the high commiſſion-court to be ſearched, and found that there had been fewer ſuſpenſions, deprivations, and other puniſhments, by three, during the ſeven years of his time, than in any ſeven years of his predeceſſor Abbot; who was notwithſtanding in great eſteem with the houſe of commons. *Troubles and trials of Laud*, p. 164. But Abbot was little attached to the court, and was alſo a puritan in doctrine, and bore a mortal hatred to the papiſts. Not to mention, that the mutinous ſpirit was riſing higher in the time of Laud, and would leſs bear controul. The maxims, however, of his adminiſtration were the ſame that had ever prevailed in England, and that had place in every other European nation, except Holland, which ſtudied chiefly the intereſts of commerce, and France, which was fettered by edicts and treaties. To have changed them for the modern maxims of toleration, how reaſonable ſoever, would have been deemed a very bold and dangerous enterprize. It is a principle, advanced by preſident Monteſquieu, that, where the magiſtrate is ſatisfyed with the eſtabliſhed religion, he ought to repreſs the firſt attempts towards innovation, and only grant a toleration to ſects that are diffuſed and eſtabliſhed. See l'Eſprit des Loix, liv. 25. chap. 10. According to this principle, Laud's indulgence to the catholics, and ſeverity to the puritans, would admit of apology. I own, however, that it is very queſtionable, whether perſecution can

in any caſe be juſtifyed: But at the ſame time, it would be hard to give that appellation to Laud's conduct, who only enforced the act of uniformity, and expelled the clergymen that accepted of benefices, and yet refuſed to obſerve the ceremonies, which they previouſly knew to be enjoined by law. He never refuſed them ſeparate places of worſhip; becauſe they themſelves would have eſteemed it impious to demand them, and no leſs impious to allow them.

NOTE [B], p. 68.

DR. BIRCH has written a treatiſe on this ſubject. It is not my buſineſs to oppoſe any facts contained in that gentleman's performance. I ſhall only produce arguments, which prove that Glamorgan, when he received his private commiſſion, had injunctions from the king to act altogether in concert with Ormond. (1.) It ſeems to be implyed in the very words of the commiſſion. Glamorgan is empowered and authoriſed to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman catholics in Ireland. "If upon neceſſity any *(articles)* be "condeſcended unto, wherein the king's lieutenant cannot "ſo well be ſeen in, as not fit for us at preſent publickly to "own." Here no articles are mentioned, which are not fit to be communicated to Ormond, but only not fit for him and the king publicly to be ſeen in, and to avow. (2.) The king's proteſtation to Ormond, ought, both on account of that prince's character, and the reaſons he aſſigns, to have the greateſt weight. The words are theſe, "Ormond, I cannot but add "to my long letter, that, upon the word of a chriſtian, I "never intended Glamorgan ſhould treat any thing without "your approbation, much leſs without your knowledge. "For beſides the injury to you, I was always diffident of his "judgment (though I could not think him ſo extremely weak "as now to my coſt I have found;) which you may eaſily "perceive in a poſtſcript of a letter of mine to you." Carte, vol. ii. App. xxiii. It is impoſſible, that any man of honour, however he might diſſemble with his enemies, would aſſert a falſehood in ſo ſolemn a manner to his beſt friend, eſpecially where that perſon muſt have had opportunities of knowing the truth.

truth. The letter, whoſe poſtſcript is mentioned by the king, is to be found in Carte, vol. ii. App. xiii. (3.) As the king had really ſo low an opinion of Glamorgan's underſtanding, it is very unlikely that he would truſt him with the ſole management of ſo important and delicate a treaty. And if he had intended, that Glamorgan's negotiation ſhould have been independant of Ormond, he would never have told him of it, nor have put him on his guard againſt Glamorgan's imprudence. That the king judged aright of this nobleman's character, appears from his *century of arts or ſcantling of inventions*, which is a ridiculous compound of lies, chimeras, and impoſſibilities, and ſhows what might be expected from ſuch a man. (4.) Mr. Carte has publiſhed a whole ſeries of the king's correſpondence with Ormond, from the time that Glamorgan came into Ireland; and it is evident that Charles all along conſiders the lord lieutenant as the perſon who was conducting the negotiations with the Iriſh. The 31ſt of July 1645, after the battle of Naſeby, being reduced to great ſtraits, he writes earneſtly to Ormond to conclude a peace upon certain conditions mentioned, much inferior to thoſe granted by Glamorgan; and to come over himſelf with all the Iriſh he could engage in his ſervice. Carte, vol. iii. No. 400. This would have been a great abſurdity, if he had already fixed a different canal, by which, on very different conditions, he propoſed to eſtabliſh a peace. On the 22d of October, as his diſtreſſes multiply, he ſomewhat enlarges the conditions, though they ſtill fall ſhort of Glamorgan's: A new abſurdity! See Carte, vol. iii. p. 411. (5.) But what is equivalent to a demonſtration, that Glamorgan was conſcious, that he had no powers to conclude a treaty on theſe terms, or without conſulting the lord lieutenant, and did not even expect, that the king would ratify the articles, is the defeazance which he gave to the Iriſh council at the time of ſigning the treaty. "The earl of Gla-
"morgan does no way intend hereby to oblige his majeſty
"other than he himſelf ſhall pleaſe, after he has received
"theſe 10,000 men, as a pledge and teſtimony of the ſaid
"Roman catholics' loyalty and fidelity to his majeſty; yet he
"promiſes faithfully, upon his word and honour, not to ac-

" quaint his majesty with this defeazance, till he had endea-
" voured, as far as in him lay, to induce his majesty to the
" granting of the particulars in the said articles: But that
" done, the said commissioners discharge the said earl of Gla-
" morgan, both in honour and conscience, of any farther en-
" gagement to them therein; though his majesty should not
" be pleased to grant the said particulars in the articles men-
" tioned; the said earl having given them assurance, upon
" his word, honour, and voluntary oath, that he would ne-
" ver, to any person whatsoever, discover this defeazance in
" the interim without their consents." Dr. Birch, p. 96. All Glamorgan's view was to get troops for the king's service, without hurting his own honour or his master's. The wonder only is, why the Irish accepted of a treaty, which bound no body, and which the very person, who concludes it, seems to confess he does not expect to be ratified. They probably hoped, that the king would, from their services, be more easily induced to ratify a treaty which was concluded, than to consent to its conclusion. (6.) I might add, that the lord lieutenant's concurrence in the treaty was the more requisite; because without it the treaty could not be carried into execution by Glamorgan, nor the Irish troops be transported into England: And even with Ormond's concurrence, it clearly appears, that a treaty, so ruinous to the protestant religion in Ireland, could not be executed in opposition to the zealous protestants in that kingdom. No one can doubt of this truth, who peruses Ormond's correspondence in Mr. Carte. The king was sufficiently apprised of this difficulty. It appears indeed to be the only reason why Ormond objected to the granting of high terms to the Irish catholics.

Dr. Birch, in page 360, has published a letter of the king's to Glamorgan, where he says, " Howbeit I know you
" cannot be but confident of my making good all instructions
" and promises to you and the nuncio." But it is to be remarked, that this letter is dated in April 5, 1646; after there had been a new negotiation entered into between Glamorgan and the Irish, and after a provisional treaty had even been concluded between them. See Dr. Birch, p. 179. The

king's assurances, therefore, can plainly relate only to this recent transaction. The old treaty had long been disavowed by the king, and supposed by all parties to be annulled.

NOTE [C], p. 105.

SALMONET, Ludlow, Hollis, &c. all these, especially the last, being the declared inveterate enemies of Cromwel, are the more to be credited, when they advance any fact, which may serve to apologize for his violent and criminal conduct. There prevails a story, that Cromwel intercepted a letter, written to the queen, where the king said, that he would first raise and then destroy Cromwel. But, besides that this conduct seems to contradict the character of the king, it is, on other accounts, totally unworthy of credit. It is first told by Roger Coke, a very passionate and foolish historian, who wrote too so late as king William's reign; and even he mentions it only as a mere rumour or hearsay, without any known foundation. In the Memoirs of lord Broghill, we meet with another story of an intercepted letter, which deserves some more attention, and agrees very well with the narration here given. It is thus related by Mr. Maurice, chaplain to Roger, earl of Orrery. "Lord Orrery, in the time of his "greatness with Cromwel, just after he had so seasonably relieved him in his great distress at Clonmell, riding out of "Youghall one day with him and Ireton, they fell into discourse about the king's death. Cromwel thereupon said "more than once, that if the king had followed his own "judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty servants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a "mind to have closed with him, but, upon something that "happened, fell off from that design. Orrery finding them "in good humour, and being alone with them, asked, if he "might presume to desire to know, why they would once "have closed with his majesty, and why they did not. Cromwel very freely told him, he would satisfy him in both his "queries. The reason (says he) why we would have closed "with the king was this: We found that the Scotch and "presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were

" likely to agree with him, and leave us in the lurch. For " this reaſon we thought it beſt to prevent them, by offering " firſt to come in upon reaſonable conditions: But whilſt our " thoughts were taken up with this ſubject, there came a " letter to us from one of our ſpies, who was of the king's " bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was de- " creed that very day; that he could not poſſibly learn what " it was, but we might diſcover it, if we could but intercept " a letter ſent from the king to the queen, wherein he in- " formed her of his reſolution; that this letter was ſown up " in the ſkirt of a ſaddle, and the bearer of it would come " with the ſaddle upon his head, about ten of the clock that " night, to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he was to take " horſe for Dover. The meſſenger knew nothing of the let- " ter in the ſaddle, though ſome in Dover did. We were at " Windſor (ſaid Cromwel) when we received this letter, and " immediately upon the receipt of it, Ireton and I reſolved " to take one truſty fellow with us, and to go in troopers ha- " bits to that inn. We did ſo; and leaving our man at the " gate of the inn, (which had a wicket only open to let per- " ſons in and out) to watch and give us notice when any man " came in with a ſaddle, we went into a drinking-ſtall. We " there continued, drinking cans of beer, till about ten of " the clock, when our centinel at the gate gave us notice, " that the man with the ſaddle was come. We roſe up pre- " ſently, and juſt as the man was leading out his horſe ſad- " dled, we came up to him with drawn ſwords, and told " him, we were to ſearch all that went in and out there; but " as he looked like an honeſt man, we would only ſearch his " ſaddle, and ſo diſmiſs him. The ſaddle was ungirt; we " carried it into the ſtall, where we had been drinking, and " ripping open one of the ſkirts, we there found the letter we " wanted. Having thus got it into our hands, we delivered " the man (whom we had left with our centinel) his ſaddle, " told him he was an honeſt fellow, and bid him go about his " buſineſs; which he did, purſuing his journey without more " ado, and ignorant of the harm he had ſuffered. We found " in the letter, that his majeſty acquainted the queen, that he

" was

" was courted by both factions, the Scotch presbyterians and " the army; and that those which bade the fairest for him " should have him: But yet he thought he should close with " the Scots sooner than with the other. Upon this we return- " ed to Windsor; and finding we were not like to have good " terms from the king, we from that time vowed his destruc- " tion." " This relation suiting well enough with other pas- " sages and circumstances at this time, I have inserted to gra- " tify the reader's curiosity." Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 12.

NOTE [D], p. 108.

THESE are the words: " Laneric; I wonder to hear " (if that be true) that some of my friends say, that " my going to Jersey would much more have furthered my " personal treaty, than my coming hither, for which, as I " see no colour of reason, so I had not been here, if I had " thought that fancy true, or had not been secured of a per- " sonal treaty; of which I neither do, nor I hope will repent: " For I am daily more and more satisfied with the governor, " and find these islanders very good, peaceable and quiet peo- " ple. This encouragement I have thought not unfit for you " to receive, hoping at least it may do good upon others, " though needless to you." Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 326. See also Rushworth, part 4. vol. ii. p. 941. All the writers of that age, except Clarendon, represent the king's going to the isle of Wight as voluntary and intended. Perhaps the king thought it little for his credit, to be trepanned into this measure, and was more willing to take it on himself as entirely voluntary. Perhaps, he thought it would encourage his friends, if they thought him in a situation, which was not disagreeable to him.

NOTE [E], p. 126.

THE king composed a letter to the prince, in which he related the whole course of this transaction, and accompanied his narrative with several wise, as well as pathetical reflections and advices. The words with which he concluded the letter, are remarkable. " By what hath been said, you " see how long I have laboured in the search of peace: Do

" not

" not you be disheartened to tread in the same steps. Use all
" worthy means to restore yourself to your rights, but prefer
" the way of peace: Show the greatness of your mind, rather
" to conquer your enemies by pardoning, than by punishing.
" If you saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable dis-
" position is in our ill-wishes, you would avoid that spirit.
" Censure me not for having parted with so much of our right:
" The price was great; but the commodity was, security to
" us, peace to my people. And I am confident, that another
" parliament would remember, how useful a king's power is to
" a people's liberty; of how much power I divested myself,
" that I and they might meet once again in a parliamentary
" way, in order to agree the bounds of prince and people.
" Give belief to my experience, never to affect more greatness
" or prerogative, than what is really and intrinsically for the
" good of the subjects, not the satisfaction of favourites. If
" you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to
" all, and a bountiful prince to any, whom you incline to be
" extraordinarily gracious to. You may perceive, that all
" men entrust their treasure, where it returns them interest;
" and if a prince, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh
" streams, which the rivers entrust with him, they will not
" grudge, but pride themselves, to make him up an ocean.
" These considerations, may make you as great a prince as
" your father is a low one; and your state may be so much
" the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For our
" subjects have learned, I dare say, that victories over their
" princes, are but triumphs over themselves, and so, will
" more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter. The Eng-
" lish nation are a sober people, however, at present, infatu-
" ated. I know not but this may be the last time, I may
" speak to you or the world publicly. I am sensible into what
" hands I am fallen; and yet, I bless God, I have those in-
" ward refreshments, which the malice of my enemies cannot
" perturb. I have learned to be busy myself, by retiring into
" myself; and therefore can the better digest whatever befals
" me; not doubting, but God's providence will restrain our
" enemies power, and turn their fierceness into his praise.

" To

" To conclude, if God give you ſucceſs, uſe it humbly, and be " ever far from revenge. If he reſtore you to your right on " hard conditions, whatever you promiſe, keep. Theſe men, " who have violated laws, which they were bound to preſerve, " will find their triumphs full of trouble. But do not you " think any thing in the world worth attaining, by foul and " unjuſt means."

NOTE [F], p. 148.

THE imputation of inſincerity on Charles I. like moſt party clamours, is difficult to be removed; though it may not here be improper to ſay ſomething with regard to it. I ſhall firſt remark, that this imputation ſeems to be of a later growth than his own age; and that even his enemies, though they loaded him with many calumnies, did not inſiſt on this accuſation. Ludlow, I think, is almoſt the only parliamentarian, who imputes that vice to him; and how paſſionate a writer he is, muſt be obvious to every one. Neither Clarendon nor any other of the royaliſts ever juſtify him from inſincerity; as not ſuppoſing that he had ever been accuſed of it. In the ſecond place, his deportment and character in common life was free from that vice: He was reſerved, diſtant, ſtately; cold in his addreſs, plain in his diſcourſe, inflexible in his principles; wide of the careſſing, inſinuating manners of his ſon; or the profeſſing, talkative humour of his father. The imputation of inſincerity muſt be grounded on ſome of his public actions, which we are therefore in the third place to examine. The following are the only inſtances, which I find cited to confirm that accuſation. (1.) His vouching Buckingham's narrative of the tranſactions in Spain. But it is evident that Charles himſelf was deceived: Why otherwiſe did he quarrel with Spain? The following is a paſſage of a letter from lord Kenſington, ambaſſador in France, to the duke of Buckingham, Cabbala, p. 318. " But his highneſs " (the prince) had obſerved as great a weakneſs and folly as " that, in that after they (the Spaniards) had uſed him ſo ill, " they would ſuffer him to depart, which was one of the firſt " ſpeeches he uttered after he came into the ſhip: But did he

" ſay

" ſay ſo? ſaid the queen (of France.) Yes, madam, I will " aſſure you, quoth I, from the witneſs of mine own ears. " She ſmiled and replied, Indeed I heard he was uſed ill. " So he was, anſwered I, but not in his entertainment; for " that was as ſplendid as that country could afford it; but in " their frivolous delays, and in the unreaſonable conditions " which they propounded and preſſed, upon the advantage " they had of his princely perſon." (2.) Biſhop Burnet, in his hiſtory of the houſe of Hamilton, p. 154. has preſerved a letter of the king's to the Scottiſh biſhops, in which he deſires them not to be preſent at the parliament, where they would be forced to ratify the abolition of their own order: " For," adds the king, " we do hereby aſſure you, that it ſhall be " ſtill one of our chiefeſt ſtudies how to rectify and eſtabliſh " the government of that church aright, and to repair your " loſſes, which we deſire you to be moſt confident of." And in another place, " You may reſt ſecure, that though perhaps " we may give way for the preſent to that which will be " prejudicial both to the church and our own government; " yet we ſhall not leave thinking in time how to remedy both." But does the king ſay, that he will arbitrarily revoke his conceſſions? Does not candor require us rather to ſuppoſe, that he hoped his authority would ſo far recover as to enable him to obtain the national conſent to re-eſtabliſh epiſcopacy, which he believed ſo material a part of religion as well as of government? It is not eaſy indeed to think how he could expect to effectuate this purpoſe in any other way than his father had taken, that is, by conſent of parliament. (3.) There is a paſſage in lord Clarendon, where it is ſaid, that the king aſſented the more eaſily to the bill, which excluded the biſhops from the houſe of peers; becauſe he thought, that that law, being enacted by force, could not be valid. But the king certainly reaſoned right in that concluſion. Three fourths of the temporal peers were at that time baniſhed by the violence of the populace: Twelve biſhops were unjuſtly thrown into the Tower by the commons: Great numbers of the commons themſelves were kept away by fear or violence: The king himſelf was chaſed from London. If all this be not force,

force, there is no such thing. But this scruple of the king's affects only the bishops' bill, and that against pressing. The other constitutional laws had passed without the least appearance of violence, as did indeed all the bills passed during the first year, except Strafford's attainder, which could not be recalled. The parliament, therefore, even if they had known the king's sentiments in this particular, could have no just foundation of jealousy. (4.) The king's letter intercepted at Naseby, has been the source of much clamour. We have spoken of it already in chap. lviii. Nothing is more usual in all public transactions than such distinctions. After the death of Charles II. of Spain, king William's ambassadors gave the duke of Anjou the title of king of Spain: Yet at that very time king William was secretly forming alliances to dethrone him: And soon after he refused him that title, and insisted (as he had reason) that he had not acknowledged his right. Yet king William justly passes for a very sincere prince; and this transaction is not regarded as any objection to his character in that particular. In all the negotiations at the peace of Ryswic, the French ambassadors always addressed king William as king of England; yet it was made an express article of the treaty, that the French king should acknowledge him as such. Such a palpable difference is there between giving a title to a prince, and positively recognizing his right to it. I may add, that Charles when he inserted that protestation in the council-books before his council, surely thought he had reason to justify his conduct. There were too many men of honour in that company to avow a palpable cheat. To which we may subjoin, that, if men were as much disposed to judge of this prince's actions with candor as severity, this precaution of entering a protest in his council-books might rather pass for a proof of scrupulous honour; lest he should afterwards be reproached with breach of his word, when he should think proper again to declare the assembly at Westminster no parliament. (5) The denying his commission to Glamorgan is another instance which has been cited. This matter has been already treated in a note to chap. lviii. That transaction was entirely innocent. Even if the king had given a com-

a commiſſion to Glamorgan to conclude that treaty, and had ratified it, will any reaſonable man, in our age, think it ſtrange, that, in order to ſave his own life, his crown, his family, his friends, and his party, he ſhould make a treaty with papiſts, and grant them very large conceſſions for their religion. (6.) There is another of the king's intercepted letters to the queen commonly mentioned; where, it is pretended, he talked of raiſing and then deſtroying Cromwel: But that ſtory ſtands on no manner of foundation, as we have obſerved in a preceding note to this chapter. In a word, the parliament, after the commencement of their violences, and ſtill more, after beginning the civil war, had reaſon for their ſcruples and jealouſies, founded on the very nature of their ſituation, and on the general propenſity of the human mind; not on any fault of the king's character; who was candid, ſincere, upright; as much as any man, whom we meet with in hiſtory. Perhaps, it would be difficult to find another character ſo unexceptionable in this particular.

As to the other circumſtance of Charles's character, chiefly exclaimed againſt, namely his arbitrary principles in government, one may venture to aſſert, that the greateſt enemies of this prince will not find, in the long line of his predeceſſors, from the conqueſt to his time, any one king, except perhaps his father, whoſe adminiſtration was not more arbitrary and leſs legal, or whoſe conduct could have been recommended to him, by the popular party themſelves, as a model, in this particular, for his government. Nor is it ſufficient to ſay, that example and precedent can never authorize vices: Examples and precedents, uniform and ancient, can ſurely fix the nature of any conſtitution, and the limits of any form of government. There is indeed no other principle by which thoſe land-marks or boundaries can be ſettled.

NOTE [G], p. 166.

THE following inſtance of extravagance is given by Walker, in his Hiſtory of Independency, part II. p. 152. About this time, there came ſix ſoldiers into the pariſh church of Walton upon Thames, near twilight; Mr. Faucet,

Faucet, the preacher there, not having till then ended his ſermon. One of the ſoldiers had a lanthorn in his hand, and a candle burning in it, and in the other hand four candles not lighted. He deſired the pariſhioners to ſtay awhile, ſaying he had a meſſage from God unto them, and thereupon offered to go into the pulpit. But the people refuſing to give him leave ſo to do, or to ſtay in the church, he went into the church-yard, and there told them, that he had a viſion wherein he had received a command from God, to deliver his will unto them, which he was to deliver, and they to receive upon pain of damnation; conſiſting of five lights. (1) "That the "ſabbath was aboliſhed as unneceſſary, Jewiſh, and merely "ceremonial. And here (quoth he) I ſhould put out the firſt "light, but the wind is ſo high I cannot kindle it. (2) That "tythes are aboliſhed as Jewiſh and ceremonial, a great bur-"then to the ſaints of God, and a diſcouragement of induſtry "and tillage. And here I ſhould put out my ſecond light, "&c. (3) That miniſters are aboliſhed as antichriſtian, and "of no longer uſe now Chriſt himſelf deſcends into the hearts "of his ſaints, and his ſpirit enlighteneth them with reve-"lations and inſpirations. And here I ſhould put out my "third light, &c. (4) Magiſtrates are aboliſhed as uſeleſs "now that Chriſt himſelf is in purity amongſt us, and hath "erected the kingdom of the ſaints upon earth. Beſides they "are tyrants, and oppreſſors of the liberty of the ſaints, and "tye them to laws and ordinances, mere human inventions: "And here I ſhould put out my fourth light, &c. (5) Then "putting his hand into his pocket, and pulling out a little "bible, he ſhewed it open to the people, ſaying, Here is a "book you have in great veneration, conſiſting of two parts, "the old and new teſtament: I muſt tell you it is aboliſhed; "it containeth beggarly rudiments, milk for babes: But now "Chriſt is in glory amongſt us, and imparts a farther meaſure "of his ſpirit to his ſaints than this can afford. I am com-"manded to burn it before your face. Then putting out the "candle he ſaid; and here my fifth light is extinguiſhed."
It became a pretty common doctrine at that time, that it was unworthy of a chriſtian man to pay rent to his fellow creatures;

and

and landlords were obliged to uſe all the penalties of law againſt their tenants, whoſe conſcience was ſcrupulous.

NOTE [H], p. 205.

WHEN the earl of Derby was alive, he had been ſummoned by Ireton to ſurrender the iſle of Man; and he returned this ſpirited and memorable anſwer. "I receiv'd "your letter with indignation, and with ſcorn return you this "anſwer; that I cannot but wonder whence you ſhould "gather any hopes, that I ſhould prove like you, treacherous "to my ſovereign; ſince you cannot be ignorant of my former "actings in his late majeſty's ſervice, from which principles "of loyalty I am no whit departed. I ſcorn your proffers; I "diſdain your favour; I abhor your treaſon; and am ſo far "from delivering up this iſland to your advantage, that I "ſhall keep it to the utmoſt of my power to your deſtruction. "Take this for your final anſwer, and forbear any farther "ſolicitations: For if you trouble me with any more meſſages "of this nature, I will burn the paper and hang up the bearer. "This is the immutable reſolution, and ſhall be the undoubted "practice of him, who accounts it his chiefeſt glory to be his "majeſty's moſt loyal and obedient ſubject,

"DERBY."

NOTE [I], p. 208.

IT had been an uſual policy of the preſbyterian eccleſiaſtics to ſettle a chaplain in the great families, who acted as a ſpy upon his maſter, and gave them intelligence of the moſt private tranſactions and diſcourſes of the family. A ſignal inſtance of prieſtly tyranny, and the ſubjection of the nobility! They even obliged the ſervants to give intelligence againſt their maſters. Whitlocke, p. 502. The ſame author, p. 512. tells the following ſtory. The ſynod meeting at Perth, and citing the miniſters and people, who had expreſſed a diſlike of *their heavenly government*, the men being out of the way, their wives reſolved to anſwer for them. And on the day of appearance, 120 women with good clubs in their hands came

and

and beſieged the church, where the reverend miniſters ſat. They ſent one of their number to treat with the females, and he threatening excommunication, they baſted him for his labour, kept him priſoner, and ſent a party of 60, who routed the reſt of the clergy, bruiſed their bodies ſorely, took all their baggage and 12 horſes. One of the miniſters, after a mile's running, taking all creatures for his foes meeting with a ſoldier fell on his knees, who knowing nothing of the matter aſked the blackcoat what he meant. The female conquerors, having laid hold on the ſynod clerk, beat him till he forſwore his office. Thirteen miniſters rallied about four miles from the place, and voted that this village ſhould never more have a ſynod in it, but be accurſed; and that though in the years 1638 and 39, the godly women were cried up for ſtoning the biſhops, yet now the whole ſex ſhould be eſteemed wicked.

NOTE [K], p. 264.

ABOUT this time an accident had almoſt robbed the protector of his life, and ſaved his enemies the trouble of all their machinations. Having got ſix fine Frieſland coach-horſes as a preſent from the count of Oldenburgh, he undertook for his amuſement to drive them about Hyde-park; his ſecretary Thurloe being in the coach. The horſes were ſtartled and ran away: He was unable to command them or keep the box. He fell upon the pole, was dragged upon the ground for ſome time; a piſtol, which he carried in his pocket, went off; and by that ſingular good fortune, which ever attended him, he was taken up without any conſiderable hurt or bruiſe.

NOTE [L], p. 322.

AFTER Monk's declaration for a free parliament on the 11th of February, he could mean nothing but the king's reſtoration: Yet it was long before he would open himſelf

even to the king. This declaration was within eight days after his arrival in London. Had he ever intended to have ſet up for himſelf, he would not ſurely have ſo ſoon abandoned a project ſo inviting: He would have taken ſome ſteps, which would have betrayed it. It could only have been ſome diſappointment, ſome fruſtrated attempt, which could have made him renounce the road of private ambition. But there is not the leaſt ſymptom of ſuch intentions. The ſtory told of Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, by Mr. Locke, has not any appearance of truth. See lord Lanſdown's Vindication, and Philips's Continuation of Baker. I ſhall add to what thoſe authors have advanced, that cardinal Mazarine wiſhed for the king's reſtoration; though he would not have ventured much to have procured it.

NOTE [M], p. 425.

THE articles were, that he had adviſed the king to govern by military power without parliaments, that he had affirmed the king to be a papiſt or popiſhly affected, that he had received great ſums of money for procuring the Canary patent, and other illegal patents, that he had adviſed and procured divers of his majeſty's ſubjects to be impriſoned againſt law, in remote iſlands and garriſons, thereby to prevent their having the benefit of the law, that he had procured the cuſtoms to be farmed at under rates, that he had received great ſums from the Vintners' company, for allowing them to inhance the price of wines, that he had in a ſhort time gained a greater eſtate than could have been ſuppoſed to ariſe from the profits of his offices, that he had introduced an arbitrary government into his majeſty's plantations, that he had rejected a propoſal for the preſervation of Nevis and St. Chriſtophers, which was the occaſion of great loſſes in thoſe parts, that when he was in his majeſty's ſervice beyond ſea he held a correſpondence with Cromwel and his accomplices, that

he adviſed the ſale of Dunkirk, that he had unduly altered letters patent under the king's ſeal, that he had unduly decided cauſes in council, which ſhould have been brought before chancery, that he had iſſued quo warrantos againſt corporations with an intention of ſqueezing money from them, that he had taken money for paſſing the bill of ſettlement in Ireland, that he betrayed the nation in all foreign treaties, and that he was the principal adviſer of dividing the fleet in June 1666.

NOTE [N], p. 455.

THE abſtract of the report of the Brook-houſe committee (ſo that committee was called) was firſt publiſhed by Mr. Ralph, vol. i. p. 177. from lord Hallifax's collections, to which I refer. If we peruſe their apology, which we find in the ſubſequent page of the ſame author, we ſhall find, that they acted with ſome malignity towards the king. They would take notice of no ſervices performed before the 1ſt of September 1664. But all the king's preparations preceded that date, and, as chancellor Clarendon told the parliament, amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds; and the computation is very probable. This ſum, therefore, muſt be added. The committee likewiſe charged ſeven hundred thouſand pounds to the king on account of the winter and ſummer guards, ſaved during two years and ten months that the war laſted. But this ſeems iniquitous. For though that was an uſual burthen on the revenue, which was then ſaved; would not the diminution of the cuſtoms during the war be an equivalent to it? Beſides, near three hundred and forty thouſand pounds are charged for prize-money, which perhaps the king thought he ought not to account for. Theſe ſums exceed the million and a half.

NOTE [O], p. 463.

COURVILLE has said in his memoirs, vol. ii. p. 14, 67. that Charles was never sincere in the triple alliance; and that, having entertained a violent animosity against de Wit, he endeavoured, by this artifice, to detach him from the French alliance, with a view of afterwards finding an opportunity to satiate his vengeance upon him. This account, though very little honourable to the king's memory, seems probable from the events, as well as from the authority of the author.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

*DA30
H9
1773



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